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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

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CONDITIONS DURING THE CIVIL WAR," "THE
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860"

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

IN teaching American history, whether in the secondary school or in the college, there are many problems in connection with the division of the subject, method of treatment, and emphasis. It has been my aim, in this short history, to add my contribution toward the solution of some of these problems from the practical standpoint of one who has had many years of experience both as teacher and as examiner, acquainted in the first capacity with the difficulty of presenting the subject, and in the second, with the unsatisfactory results often obtained.

Some of the subjects of special emphasis in the present volume are, in the period of exploration and discovery, the development of geographical knowledge; and in the colonial period the dependence of events in the colonies upon contemporary English history, and the close connection between the West Indies and the mainland as parts of the same colonial empire. Less space than usual has been given to military history, the attempt being to present the broad outlines of campaigns, the general plans with their successes and failures, rather than descriptions of battles in detail; while the social and industrial development of the country, economic progress, sources and effects of immigration, conditions on the ever-receding frontier, and changes in governmental forms, both national and local, have received special attention. The peace movement and foreign relations, particularly the Pan-American movement, have been stressed. Recent history, which is often slighted for the period since 1865, occupies more than one-fourth of the book, a large share being devoted to the period since 1900. In fact, one of the objects of the book, constantly kept in mind, has been to introduce the student to present-day conditions and problems.

I desire to recognize my debt of gratitude to my colleagues, Professors Hill and Shattuck for various illustrations, and Professor Bracq, for permission to use his original Hondius-Mercator map; to Archibald Freeman of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, who has lately read the entire manuscript in its completed form and offered much valuable criticism; and to my wife, whose criticism and aid at every stage of the work has been a constant source of inspiration and profit.

EMERSON DAVID FITE

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To Monseigneur, Count Frontenac, Councillor of the King, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty in Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland and in the country of New France.

Monseigneur

I take pleasure in presenting to you this map which will enable you to understand the location of the rivers and lakes on which one travels through Canada or North America, which is more than 1,200 leagues from East to West.

That great river (the Mississippi) beyond Lake Huron and Lake Illinois (or Michigan), which bears your name, the River Buade, since it was discovered in these last two years, 1673 and 1674, as a result of the first orders you gave me as you entered on the government of New France, flows between Florida and Mexico, and on its way to the sea runs through the most beautiful country imaginable. I have seen nothing in France so beautiful as the abundance of fine prairies and nothing so pleasant as the varieties of groves and forests where one can pick plums, pomegranates, lemons and several small fruits which are not found in Europe. In the fields, quail rise; in the woods, parrots are seen; and in the rivers one catches fish which cannot be identified by taste, shape or size.

Iron mines and reddish rocks, never found except with copper, are not rare, likewise slate, saltpetre, coal, marble, and alloys of copper. The largest pieces of copper that I saw were as large as a fist and free from impurities. It was discovered near the reddish rocks which are much like those of France and numerous.

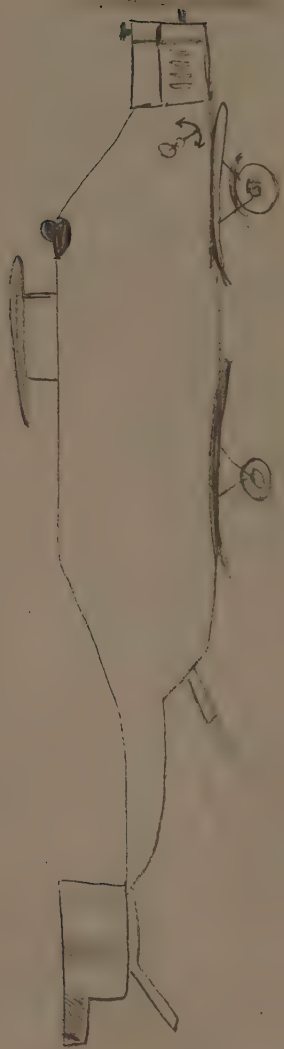
All the savages have wooden canoes, fifty feet and more in length; they do not care for deer as food, but they kill buffalo, which roam in herds of thirty or fifty. I have myself counted 400 on the banks of the river, and turkeys are extremely common.

They harvest Indian corn generally three times a year, and they have watermelons for refreshment in the heat, since there is no ice and very little snow.

One of the great rivers running into the Mississippi from the West gives a passage into the Gulf of California (Mer Vermeille). I saw a village which is only five days' journey from a tribe which trades with the natives of California. If I had arrived two days earlier I could have talked to those who had come and had brought four hatchets as a present.

The description of everything could have been seen in my diary, if the good fortune which attended me all through the journey had not failed me a quarter of an hour before arriving at the place from which I had departed. I had escaped the dangers from the savages, I had passed forty rapids and was about to land with all possible joy over the success of such a long and difficult undertaking when my canoe was overturned and I lost two men and my chest, in sight of and at the doors of the first French houses that I had left nearly two years before. Nothing is left to me but my life and the desire to use it for whatever will please you.

Monseigneur, your very humble and obedient servant and subject,



HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

PART I

THE NEW WORLD

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

IDEAS AND EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

FOR centuries before Columbus the seas which stretched away from the coasts of Europe had remained an expanse of mystery and wonder. Ships had crept cautiously out upon their waters and back again, but no one had ventured to sail away from land for days and days, with no signs of hope from the apparently limitless waste, sustained only by faith in his own enterprise, until Columbus dared, and solved the mystery. In view of the results that have come from his ventures, his may be accounted the greatest discovery in the history of the world. Certainly his bold incursions into the mystery of the western horizon mark the beginning of American history.

Introduction.

Rejecting the common belief that the world was flat, Christopher Columbus maintained that it was round and that by sailing westward he could come to China and Japan in the East. Where did he get this idea? It was not new, for the Greeks had held it two thousand years before him. At the very dawn of Greek civilization Homer had asserted that the earth was wheel-shaped and flat, surrounded on all sides by the ocean, beyond which was mythland; but Aristotle, in the fourth century before Christ, noting the circular shadow of the earth on the moon during an eclipse, and the different altitudes of the North Star at different places, reached the conclusion that the earth was spherical, and wrote that those who said that the sea was one from Gibraltar to India "do not assert things very improbable." After the decline of Greek civilization, the idea did not completely die out, but was handed down to modern times through the Mohammedans, from whom Columbus himself may have derived it in southern Spain, where Mohammedan

**Columbus's
great idea and
its source
among the
early Greeks.**

civilization, though on the decline, was still prevalent in his day. In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon in England gave Aristotle's theory a place in Christian literature in his "Opus Majus," and his words were later repeated in a Latin book called "Imago Mundi," which we know influenced Columbus.

From 1472 to 1492 Europe saw several new editions of Ptolemy's old Greek geography, dating from the second century after Christ

and based upon the theory that the world was round. In Columbus's time, too, the modern globe was

slowly coming into use to represent the Greek conception of the earth's rotundity, and Columbus may have had opportunity to study one of these, or possibly he may have owned one himself. The Behaim globe of his day is still in existence. Finally, the Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli, to whom Columbus wrote for advice, furnished him with geographical data based on the Greek conception, though both Behaim and Toscanelli underestimated the size of the earth and extended the continent of Asia so as to locate Cipango (Japan) about as far from Europe as is in actuality the Gulf of Mexico.

It is possible that Columbus made a visit to Iceland before 1492, or that he talked with sailors and others who knew the Icelandic sea tales. These tales, called sagas, first reduced to writing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, contained an account of certain old Icelandic or Norse sea rovers, who in the year 1000 or thereabouts, under the leadership of Leif Ericson, made a long ocean journey to a new land west and south of Greenland, where they found fields of "self-sown" grain and grapevines growing wild. This land they named Vinland. Since there is but one land west and south of Greenland, scholars generally believe that the Northmen reached the mainland of North America. Here to-day on the Atlantic coast is to be found a wild rice, which may be identified with the grain mentioned in the sagas,

Scientific data in Columbus's day concerning the shape of the earth.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Possible suggestions by the Northmen concerning unknown western lands.



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO TOSCANELLI

The black line shows route advised by Toscanelli; the dotted line shows position of America. (From Italian Columbian Commission Report.)

and here to-day wild grapes still grow. The present northern limit of both the rice and the grapes is near Nova Scotia; and so, somewhere on the long Atlantic coast south of Nova Scotia, we conclude that the Northmen made their landings, though at what spot we cannot tell. Every vestige of their presence on these shores has long since disappeared. So much for the Northmen, who have left no mark on American history. If Columbus heard their story, he found in it but one point of interest, — that there was a land beyond the ocean to be reached by a voyage to the west. As for cold and barren Vinland, he would have nothing of it. He was eager to reach another and fairer land, described by a great traveler whose story was clearly authentic.

This traveler was Marco Polo, a Venetian, who reached Cathay, or China, by a long overland journey from Europe in the latter part of the thirteenth century, obtained a place in the native annals of China—which serves to verify his tale—and returned to Europe to write of his experiences. In the Columbian library at Seville, Spain, there is a book entitled "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," on the margin of which are notes in the handwriting of Columbus. Two things in the story particularly interested him. First, Polo described the distant coasts which he visited as washed on the east by a great sea; so, reasoned Columbus, if there was an ocean east of this land and if the earth was round, this ocean might be the same as that which washed the shores of western Europe. Second, Polo pictured the Asiatic lands and the near-by island of Cipango (Japan) as abounding in palaces with roofs and pavements of gold. Columbus's ambition was fired to sail to these eastern countries and find their treasures. His first questions to the natives wherever he went on his coming voyages were always of gold.

In these early days, when people knew little of the art of modern cooking and still less of modern methods of preserving food from decay, Europeans were wont to cover up rancid tastes and odors in their food by the use of spices, which were imported from India and the adjacent islands. Silks, gems, precious stones, and drugs reached Europe from the same source. One of the routes of this trade ran by way of the Black and Caspian Seas and one through Persia and the Persian Gulf, but both of these routes were closed by the Turkish conquests in western Asia and eastern Europe, which culminated in the capture of Constantinople in 1453. A new route to the East became a commercial necessity.

Marco Polo's account of a sea east of China.

The need of a new route to the East.

As this need became apparent, Portuguese mariners, under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, began to explore the western coast of Africa in the hope that somewhere in its extent they might find a passage through to the East. They reached the equator in 1471, and fifteen years later the very southernmost tip of land and the coast beyond. This remarkable voyage was accomplished by Bartholomew Diaz, whose King, in speaking of the results of the voyage, exultingly declared that Diaz had rounded the "Cape of Good Hope." Continuing in the same way, Vasco da Gama actually reached India and the near-by islands in 1498, and the prize was won. Columbus's brother was with Diaz in 1486, and Columbus himself may have been on one such voyage. These long voyages were a school of practical navigation, in which mariners first learned to compile nautical tables and to compute latitude in unknown seas by the newly discovered astrolabe. The only compass in use was a magnetized needle set on a straw in a basin of water, and this was not very sensitive.

Long voyages in his own day which gave practical hints to Columbus.

It was a stirring age in which Columbus lived. Western Europe was the scene of a renaissance or re-birth of interest in art, sculpture, and architecture, in literature and science, and in commerce and geographical knowledge. Men were slowly casting off the intellectual torpor of the Middle or Dark Ages and awakening to new ideas and to new confidence in their own powers. With his interest in the Greek ideas, which were a characteristic of the period, with his mental alertness, his enterprise, and his zest for investigation, Columbus was a striking representative of the spirit of the times.

Columbus as a representative of the Renaissance.

COLUMBUS, CABRAL, AND CABOT

By 1475, when he was about thirty years old, Columbus, who was a native of Genoa, Italy, came to Lisbon, Portugal, determined to devote his life to a career of maritime discovery. He was an ardent student of the problems of the seas, and toiled year after year, studying maps, sailors' charts and stories, accounts of travels, and indeed everything connected with the seas and ships. While the Portuguese were turning their prows down the coasts of Africa in search of the Spice Islands of the East, to Columbus the East lay in the West and westward he proposed to go.

Columbus's preparation.

Several of the leading sovereigns of Europe, including Henry VII of England and Charles VIII of France, to whom he applied for financial

assistance, turned him aside as an impractical dreamer, but finally Queen Isabella of Spain came to his assistance. With her money, and with contributions from Columbus himself and from the seaport town of Palos, Spain, three small ships, the *Santa Maria*, the *Niña*, and the *Pinta*, were fitted out; and in these, on Friday, August 3, 1492, in defiance of superstition, the little expedition of ninety men set sail from Palos. The flagship, the *Santa Maria*, was probably only sixty-three feet in length and twenty in width, while her companion ships were still smaller. Even with the present knowledge of the seas, few would dare to attempt to cross the Atlantic in ships so small. The Canary Islands were reached and left behind in the first month. In the unknown seas beyond, the weather proved fair and the voyage easy; but the comforting land, the sight of which had been a constant solace to the Portuguese in their long southern voyages, receded farther and farther, perhaps thousands of miles, and in terror the sailors threw Columbus's theories to the winds, mutinied, and demanded to go back. Columbus alone kept faith in the quest, and he kept it bravely. Reward came one moonlight night in October, ten weeks after the expedition had set out. For several hours flocks of birds and floating objects in the sea had been noted, which seemed to indicate the near approach to land; and at two o'clock in the morning of Friday, October 12, a sandy beach hove in sight, which in devout gratitude Columbus named San Salvador, or Holy Savior. On account of the inaccurate nautical instruments in use and consequent mistakes in reckoning, the exact location of Columbus's San Salvador cannot now be determined. It was doubtless one of the Bahamas, but of these there are three thousand. Columbus believed that he was approaching India, and gave the name Indians to the strange peoples whom he found. From San Salvador he proceeded to Cuba, and there, thinking that he had reached Cipango, and that Cathay was near, he sent off an interpreter to find the Great Khan, the ruler of Cathay, and to deliver to him a letter from the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella.

After further explorations, in which Hispaniola (Haiti) and other West Indian islands were discovered, Columbus sailed back to Spain, where he received an enthusiastic welcome. As proof of his story, he exhibited to the astonished people of Spain six natives from the new lands and many curious stuffed birds and mammals. On a second voyage in 1494 he founded a colony in Hispaniola; on a third in 1498 he explored a part of the coast of South America and the mouth of the Orinoco River, thus laying the foundation of Spain's claim to that

Columbus's
first voyage to
America.

His welcome
home and
other voyages.

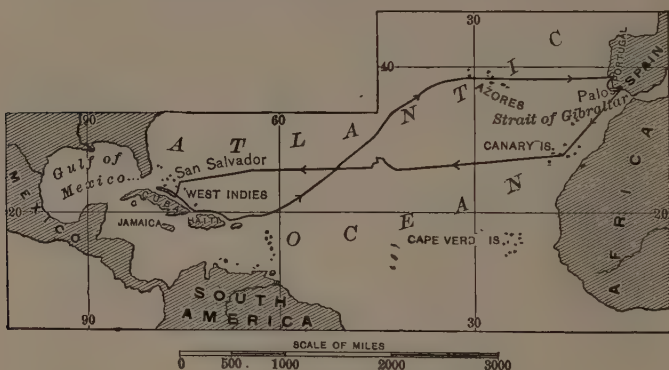


THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS

continent; and on his fourth and last voyage in 1502 he passed along the coast of Central America.

On his second and third voyages hundreds of Spaniards flocked to his standard and freely invested their fortunes in what they believed would be a paying enterprise, for to them their rivals, the Portuguese, seemed outdistanced in the race to the East, and rich returns seemed sure. In point of fact, we know that the race after all went to the Portuguese, who brought back their spice-laden ships to Europe in 1499, while the Spanish hopes of gain were not so speedily realized. In

Unpopularity of Columbus in his last days.



COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE

their chagrin the Spaniards laid the blame for their losses on Columbus, whom they denounced as a cheat, and the last days of the great discoverer, until his death in 1506, were spent in poverty and disgrace.

Had not Columbus reached the new lands when he did, the western continent would probably have been discovered eight years later by mere chance, for in 1500 a Portuguese expedition of thirteen ships, under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, bound down the west coast of Africa for the Spice Islands of the East, was driven from its course across the Atlantic to the eastern shores of Brazil. Cabral named the country which he touched Vera Cruz or Santa Cruz, and by his voyage gave to the Portuguese a claim to a portion of the mainland of South America.

Between Columbus's first and second voyages, some, in doubt as to where he had really been, feared that possibly his discovery lay in the regions off the west coast of Africa, which had already by papal grant been recognized as belonging to Portugal. In order to prevent dispute, appeal was made to the Pope

Chance discovery of South America by Cabral.

The Pope's demarcation line.

for a decision marking off the respective possessions of the two powers, Spain and Portugal. By a bull, or proclamation, the Pope decreed that an imaginary demarcation line should be drawn, running north and south in the Atlantic one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands, and that all the newly discovered lands east of this line should fall to Portugal and all west of it to Spain. By a treaty in 1494 the line was placed at three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands, but even then the eastern part of Brazil was the only portion of the new continent that fell on Portugal's side of the line.

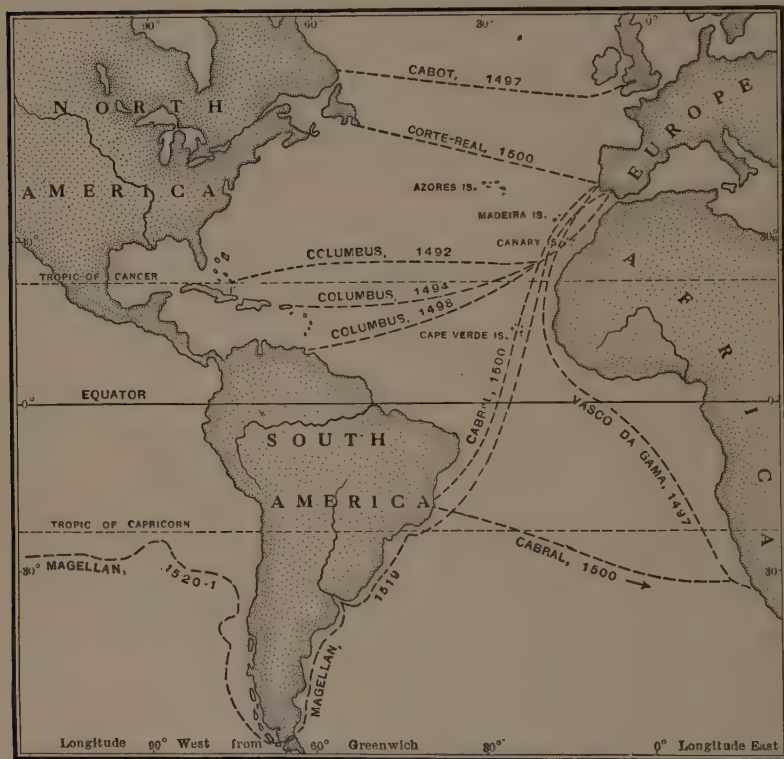
The honor of discovering the mainland of North America is usually ascribed to the English, as the result of the voyage of an English ship under an Italian captain, John Cabot, which arrived in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1497. Unlike Cabral in 1500, Cabot was consciously following in the paths of Columbus, but whereas Columbus sailed with three ships and ninety men, Cabot mustered only one ship and eighteen men. The one enjoyed calm sailing; the other was called upon to brave the storms of the north Atlantic. "Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol," wrote an Italian in London to his brothers in Italy, "has come back, and says that he has discovered, seven hundred leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Grau Cam (that is, China) and that he coasted along it for three hundred leagues and landed, but did not see any persons. But he has brought here to the King certain snares spread to take game, and a needle for making nets, and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. . . . His name is Zuam Talbot, and he is called the Great Admiral, great honor being paid to him, and he goes dressed in silk." Possibly Sebastian Cabot accompanied his father in 1497, and it is supposed by some that both father and son engaged in a second voyage to America in 1498, of which, however, nothing is definitely known. Although the single voyage of Cabot in 1497 laid the foundation for the claims of England to the mainland of North America, the English made no effort to follow up the discovery for more than seventy-five years. Internal and foreign politics were absorbing their energies.

The discovery of North America by John Cabot.

The discovery of America was now only begun. Columbus had disclosed the West Indian Islands and a small part of the neighboring coast, Cabot a vague part of the coast farther north. Almost the whole continental coast line of North America and South America remained to be traced, the interior mountains, plains, and rivers had still to be visited, and the long way searched out to the Pacific. The earliest map of

The La Cosa map of America in 1500.

America now in existence was drawn on a large parchment in 1500 by Juan de la Cosa. On it are located the northern shores of South America, but with no suggestion of the great extent of the continental mass farther south; the Gulf of Mexico and the islands which shut it off from the Atlantic are in place, but Florida and the



ROUTES OF DISCOVERIES

whole of the Atlantic coast north of it as far as Nova Scotia or possibly Newfoundland are not outlined. Two English flags, marking the "sea discovered by Englishmen," roughly locate Cabot's discovery.

The Cantino map of the year 1502, while confirming that of La Cosa concerning the work of Columbus, is silent on the voyages of Cabot and awards Newfoundland to the Portuguese, who reached the shores of this island in 1500-1502 under the leadership of the Corte-Real brothers. The twenty-two local names of

bays and headlands in Florida placed upon this map show that this portion of the country had been visited and traced before 1502, though when and by whom cannot now be determined. It is possible that some unknown voyager set foot on the mainland of North America before John Cabot.

TRACING THE COAST LINE OF SOUTH AMERICA, 1500-1533 B

In a series of voyages, Americus Vesputius, an Italian in the service of Spain, sailed along the east coast of South America and possibly reached that part of North America which is now the United States. He described his explorations in certain letters, and in one of these, describing his voyage of 1501 and published in Latin under the title "Mundus Novus," he boldly claimed that he had found a new world. "We found what may be called a new world," he wrote, speaking of what must have been the lands of South America. In another account Vesputius also claimed to have reached the mainland of America in 1497. In his letter describing his voyage of 1492 Columbus had indicated his belief that he had found Cathay and Cipango, but in writing of his voyage of 1498, on which he had touched the mainland of South America, he used language very much like that of Vesputius. He spoke of "a boundless land to the south of which hitherto there has been no knowledge," and he called it "another world." Columbus, therefore, as well as Vesputius, laid claim to the discovery of a new world; but while the claims of the great Genoese were not published in full till the nineteenth century and no reference to them was made by other writers till 1504, those of Vesputius were read extensively over all Europe in 1503.

**The voyages
of Americus
Vesputius.**

In 1507, in St. Dié in France, a German professor, Martin Waldseemüller, published a new edition of Ptolemy's geography, in which he printed one of the letters of Vesputius as an appendix and suggested that the new world discovered by Americus be called America in his honor. Suiting his action to his words, Waldseemüller made a map in which the name America, applied however only to South America, appeared for the first time. There is no evidence that Vesputius had any part in the suggestion of the name or even knew about it. Many scholars now believe that Vesputius did not coast along South America in 1497 before Columbus reached the mainland, though undoubtedly he made later voyages there. In six years more Waldseemüller himself dropped the name America and called South America "Terra Incognita — discovered

**The naming
of America.**

by Columbus." The euphony of the name America was in its favor, and it succeeded in maintaining itself.

The discoverer of the vast ocean west of the slowly emerging continent was Balboa. While searching for gold in the Isthmus of Panama,

The discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa. this Spanish explorer first learned from the natives

that he was traversing a narrow neck of land and that a great sea lay beyond. The discovery which ensued was dramatic in the extreme. Guided by Indians and followed by a band of picked men, the leader made his way through the almost impenetrable



BALBOA TAKING POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN

forest. When he believed that the moment of discovery was at hand, he ordered the expedition to stop while he went ahead to high ground that he might first behold the great view alone. As the isthmus runs east and west at this point, he appropriately called the waters, which he beheld to the south, the South Sea. Several days more of hard marching brought the party to the ocean side, where Balboa proudly advanced into the water and took possession of the sea and all the lands upon its borders in the name of the King of Spain. Later he made the first suggestion of an Atlantic-Pacific canal, when he proposed to his sovereign that a canal be dug across the isthmus which he had discovered. Ten years earlier, when Columbus was on his fourth voyage, the natives had pointed out to him the nearness of the southern sea; but he turned back.

In the same year, 1513, the Spaniard, Ponce de Leon, who had been governor of Porto Rico, sailed from Cuba and reached the near-by mainland, which, as shown by the early maps, had doubtless been visited before. In honor of the day of his landing he called the region "Terra de Pascua Florida" or the "Land of Easter," known since simply as Florida. This

Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida.

authentic voyage was the basis of Spain's claim to North America. Like many another explorer, de Leon sought gold, but he also sought a more elusive goal, the fountain of perpetual youth, which, he had heard, bubbled in the wonderful new country. He staked life and

fortune on the quest, but went back disappointed, having attained eternal fame but not the renewal of youth which he sought.

Six years later, another Spaniard, Alvarez de Pineda, proved that Florida was not an island by sailing along the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico as far west as Mexico. Turning back, he entered the Rio del Espiritu Santo, which was either the Mississippi River or Mobile Bay, probably the latter, where he remained for six weeks, trading with the Indians and observing their customs.

The voyage
of Pineda.

In the year 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain, with five ships and a crew of two hundred and eighty men, including Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, Sicilians, Dutch, French, Germans, Greeks, Malays, and Negroes, started on a voyage which proved to be epoch-making. Three years later, on the thirtieth anniversary of the day when Columbus set sail from the Canaries, eighteen of the motley crew returned to Spain on a single ship, the *Victoria*, having come back to their starting place by a continuous voyage to the west. The earth had been circumnavigated for the first time. Several years before, while on a journey to the Spice Islands over the route of the Portuguese, Magellan had come to believe that these islands lay on the Spanish or western side of the papal line of demarcation and that he could reach them by sailing westward, if only he could get around America. How he arrived at the conclusion that he could sail around the new continent, no one knows. Possibly Vasco da Gama's success in finding a way around Africa inspired Magellan to search for a similar passage in the western world. He skirted the whole of the eastern coast of Waldseemüller's America, that is, South America, examining the rivers in the hope of finding one that was salt and led on to Cipango and Cathay. So thorough was his search that he tarried three weeks at the La Plata River to make sure that this was not the desired passage. Treason and desertion in the ranks of the crew more than once threatened to destroy the enterprise. Five weeks were spent in passing through the winding passage since known as the Straits of Magellan. Emerging from this, the expedition came to the ocean which Balboa had already named the South Sea but which Magellan now called the Pacific, that is, the Peaceful. The ships pressed northward for some days, and then struck boldly to the west for almost four months out of all sight of land. Suffering from scurvy and from hunger was intense; at times the men were forced to eat leather, sometimes they were able to procure rats. At last the Philippine Islands were reached, where Magellan was

Circumnavigation of the
globe by
Magellan.

killed by the natives, but not before he realized the meaning of his voyage, for from his previous journeys to these parts with the Portuguese he knew that the Philippines adjoined Asia. He had proved, first, that the world was round; second, that there was an ocean between South America and Asia, by far the largest body of water on the globe; and third, that the globe was much larger than Toscanelli, Behaim, and Columbus had believed.

The remainder of the coast of South America was soon outlined. The geographical contributions of Columbus, Vespucci, Balboa, and Magellan were supplemented by the explorations of the Pizarro brothers, who conquered Peru in 1533 and sailed up and down the Pacific on the western shores of South America for hundreds of miles. Certainly by the date of their final successes in Peru, the whole of the South American coast was known in outline to the Spaniards.

Completion
of the out-
line map of
South
America.

PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING NORTH AMERICA

Meantime the work of tracing the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America was not neglected. While Magellan was making his voyage around the world, a Spanish expedition under Cortes, 1519-1521, conquered Mexico and reached the Pacific in that quarter. Florida, as we have seen, was found before Magellan had proved the

The search
for the
Northwest
Passage to
Asia.

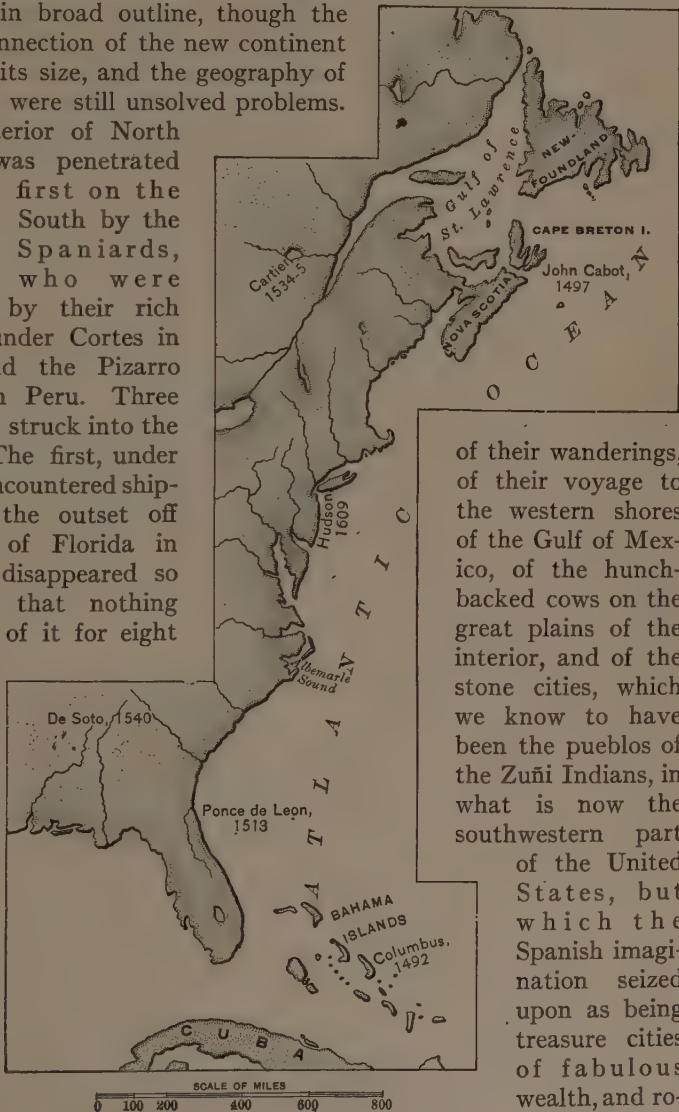
continental dimensions of South America. After him, brave mariners, his imitators, set out to find a passage around America to Asia *in the north*. The leader in this famous search for the Northwest Passage, which was not to be crowned with success till the middle of the nineteenth century, was the Spaniard d'Ayllon, who examined the James River and Chesapeake Bay in 1524. In the same year, despite the monopoly claimed by the Spaniards on these shores by virtue of the Pope's line of demarcation, the Italian Verrazano sailed along the same coasts under the colors of the King of France, and probably reached the Hudson River and New England. The next year the Spaniard Gomez carried on the search from Florida to Labrador, and in 1535 the Frenchman Jacques Cartier passed through the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up the St. Lawrence River as far as the Indian village on the present site of Montreal. Still no Northwest Passage rewarded their search. At the same time the Spaniards were pushing up the Pacific coast from Mexico. In 1542 the Spaniard Cabrillo sailed as far north as Cape Mendocino in the present state of California. With these labors of Cortes,

d'Ayllon, Verrazano, Gomez, Cartier, and Cabrillo, North America as well as South America was coming into view in broad outline, though the possible connection of the new continent with Asia, its size, and the geography of its interior, were still unsolved problems.

The interior of North America was penetrated first on the South by the Spaniards, who were

urged on by their rich successes under Cortes in Mexico and the Pizarro brothers in Peru. Three expeditions struck into the interior. The first, under Narvaez, encountered shipwreck at the outset off the coast of Florida in 1528, and disappeared so completely that nothing was heard of it for eight

years, when four survivors, who had saved themselves by becoming Indian medicine men, arrived on the Pacific coast. A strange tale the leader, de Vaca, told



of their wanderings, of their voyage to the western shores of the Gulf of Mexico, of the hunch-backed cows on the great plains of the interior, and of the stone cities, which we know to have been the pueblos of the Zuñi Indians, in what is now the southwestern part of the United States, but which the Spanish imagination seized upon as being treasure cities of fabulous wealth, and romantically termed the

"Seven Cities of Cibola." In 1540 an expedition under Coronado set out from the city of Mexico to conquer these cities. It found the grand cañons of the Colorado River, the Indian cities or pueblos, the hunchbacked cows or buffaloes, the plains east of the Rocky Mountains, and living on these plains simple wandering Indian tribes, but no gold. Somewhere in what is now Kansas or Oklahoma, a thousand miles from the coast, a captive Indian woman disappeared from this expedition and within a week's time fell in with another expedition of white men from the Atlantic. This latter company, led by de Soto, had set out in 1539 from Florida under the inspiration of de Vaca's story, had traversed the present gulf states of the United States, crossed the Mississippi, and entered upon the plains of the interior, but like that of Coronado, had failed in its mission of finding gold. In two more expeditions the Spaniards set out for the interior of North America, but in each case turned back. They had explored the country at great sacrifice, only to retire and devote themselves to Mexico, Central America, and South America. They were seeking gold, not homes in the wilderness, and when the gold did not appear the whole vast country north of the Gulf of Mexico seemed to them nothing but a disappointment. Still, many a Spanish missionary came to the country to labor for the conversion of the Indians, and to-day the remains of their mission buildings may be seen in the southwestern part of the United States.

De Vaca and probably Pineda had sailed past the mouth of the Mississippi without detecting the existence of the great river. The actual discovery of this interior waterway fell to de Soto, who crossed it probably somewhere near the present city of Memphis, Tennessee, in 1541. From the first description of the Mississippi by one of De Soto's men, we read:

"The river was almost half a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he were a man or not. The river was of great depth, and of a strong current; the water was alwaies muddie; there came down the river continually many trees and timber." De Soto, who died of fever on the expedition, was buried in the river which he had discovered.

The available places in which to search for the Northwest Passage were fast becoming restricted. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, since nothing promising had been found farther south, English explorers tried the Arctic regions. Sir Martin Frobisher, in three voyages, 1576-1578, entered the strait that bears his name and also Hudson Strait. John Davis, 1585-1587, discovered Davis Strait and got as far as 72° north lati-

The discovery of the Mississippi River.

The exploration of the Arctic Seas.

tude. William Baffin found Baffin Bay on the west of Greenland in 1615.

Henry Hudson, in two voyages under an English company, failed in his efforts to strike directly across the North Pole to Asia by way of the waters on the east of Greenland; in a third voyage, which he made in the service of the Dutch East India Com-

**The voyages
of Henry
Hudson.**

pany, he changed his course from the northern seas and in his little ship, the *Half Moon*, in 1609 explored the river which has since been called by his name. Whereas Verrazano, almost a century earlier, had seen only the mouth of this river, Hudson sailed up its waters prob-



THE HALF MOON

ably as far north as the present site of Albany. On a fourth and last voyage, while again in the service of the English, Hudson explored Hudson Bay in the north, but, proving less successful than Columbus and Magellan in dealing with mutinous sailors, he was set adrift in a small boat by his own men to die in that distant waste of waters.

In 1616 the Dutchman, Schouten van Horn, found and sailed around the cape at the extremity of South America, now known as Cape Horn. The English sea rover, Drake, had seen the cape without rounding it; Magellan never knew of its existence.

**The discovery
of Cape
Horn in the
Antarctic
regions.**

The work of exploring the northern part of the interior of North America was carried on mainly by Frenchmen, who took up the task somewhat less than a century after the Spaniards in the south. After a visit to the Isthmus of Panama, where, like Balboa, he suggested the digging of a canal between the two oceans, Samuel de Champlain, in the name of France, explored the St. Lawrence River 1603-1604, and in 1604-1606 explored and mapped the New England coast as far south as Cape Cod. In 1609 he discovered and explored Lake Champlain, while Hudson, at the same time, coming up from the south, was on the

**Samuel de
Champlain's
explorations
in the inter-
ior of North
America.**

Hudson River not many miles away. Here occurred one of those far-reaching events that have changed the course of history. Confronted with the necessity of taking sides in an Indian war, Champlain allied himself with the Ottawas and Hurons on his north and west against the Iroquois of the south. The Iroquois, astounded by the display of the white man's terrible firearms, were defeated, but they were a powerful tribe, and their hatred of the French, which dated from that battle, helped to prevent the latter from making their way into the valley of the Hudson. Inasmuch as the success of the French, both in their explorations in the wilderness and in their fur trade with the Indians, depended on the friendly coöperation of the natives, the hostility of the powerful Iroquois, who occupied in general what is now the state of New York, effectually barred the way of the French in that direction and forced them to penetrate the interior farther north along the banks of the St. Lawrence. Partly as a result of the hatred thus engendered, the Iroquois allied themselves with the Dutch and later with the English, who were the rivals of the French in this region.

Pushing westward north of the lands of the Iroquois, a Recollect friar, Le Caron, reached Lake Huron in 1615, and in the same year Champlain reached Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. Lake Michigan was explored by Jean Nicolet in 1634, while Fathers Jogues and Raymbault were on Lake Superior in 1641. Lake Erie was probably discovered by a trader, Joliet, in 1670. In the same year La Salle discovered the Ohio River, and in 1673 Father Marquette and Joliet traversed the Great Lakes to the western shores of Lake Michigan, ascended the Fox River, and by a short and easy portage reached the Wisconsin, whence they came to the Mississippi and paddled south on its waters to the Arkansas. Their explorations took them far enough down the Mississippi to enable them to determine that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. Up to this time, though Europeans had been settled on the Atlantic coast for a half century and more, and though civilization there had proceeded so far as to have founded Harvard College, knowledge of the interior was so vague that it was believed that the "great river" of the interior of the continent emptied into the Gulf of California. La Salle accomplished the feat of passing down the length of the Mississippi from the Illinois to its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico in 1682.

Joliet made a map in 1673 which shows to what an extent his countrymen had enlarged the geographical knowledge of the interior of North America. In fairly accurate outline this map traces the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi and its leading tributaries. The Northwest was still unexplored, and the lingering

**The French
discovery of
the Great
Lakes.**

**Joliet's map,
1673.**



THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, by HENRY HONDIUS, 1630
From the Hondius-Mercator Atlas of 1633. One third original size.

impression of a possible connection by land with Asia was not yet dispelled; in fact, Jean Nicolet took with him on his journey in 1634, when he discovered Lake Michigan, a richly embroidered oriental gown, that he might enter the court of the ruler of the Chinese in proper garb. Both French and English civilization had been established on the Atlantic seaboard of the new continent for many years before the idea was finally abandoned that China was to be reached overland.

The country west of the Mississippi to the Pacific yielded to explorers slowly; indeed it was not till the nineteenth century that this part of North America was adequately mapped. The Frenchmen, the La Vérendrye brothers, discovered the Rocky Mountains in 1743, Captain Cook mapped the Pacific coast far into the north in 1778, Vancouver explored the same coasts in 1792, in the same year Captain Gray, in the *Columbia* from Boston, entered the Columbia River, and less than fifteen years later, in 1804-1805, Captains Lewis and Clark, coming overland from the Mississippi and the Missouri to the Columbia and the Pacific, made the first recorded journey across the continent.

The fact of the separation of Asia and North America was not made apparent until the Danish captain, Vitus Bering, came overland from Europe across Siberia in the service of Russia, built a fleet on the Pacific, and discovered Bering Strait in 1728 and Alaska in 1741. The finding of the Northwest Passage fell to Robert McClure in 1854, long after its discovery had ceased to be desired for commercial purposes.

From this record of three and a half centuries it will be seen that the discovery of North America was not a single incident but a long-continued process; and the crude maps, which periodically set down the newest outposts reached from time to time, tell a story of human energy and daring, of hardships overcome, of patient endeavor and slow reward, from the beginning to the end of the long episode. The slow progress of Spanish, French, English, and Danish explorers in completing the outline of North America may be contrasted with the half century required by the Spanish alone for tracing the coasts of South America.

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Completion of the exploration of North America.

The discovery of Bering Strait in 1728 and of Alaska in 1741.

The slow discovery of North America.

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ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What are the proofs that the earth is round? Trace the history of the belief in the rotundity of the earth. In what did Columbus's greatness consist? What inventions during the Renaissance added to the zest for geographical exploration? From what different sources did Columbus derive aid and inspiration for his voyages? Compare the achievements of Columbus, Cabral, and Cabot. What part did the Italians play in the discovery of America? What explanations can you give, from your knowledge of European history, for the failure of the Italians to found colonies in America? Summarize the claims of Spain, France, and England to the new continent. Name the discoverer of each of the following: the West Indies, North America, South America, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Hudson, the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Columbia Rivers, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Ocean, the Northwest Passage. What different mariners early sailed along the California coast?

Follow in chronological order the progress of geographical knowledge concerning the coast of North America. Trace the steps in the discovery of the coast line of South America. Give the leading events in the exploration of the interior of North America by the Spaniards and by the French.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVE AMERICANS AND THEIR COUNTRY

THE PEOPLE

LIGHT is thrown on the nature of the native Americans by their attitude toward the first white men whom they beheld. "Come, come, you will see men from Heaven!" they shouted to one another when Columbus first passed among them. "Whereupon both women and men, children and adults, young and old, laying aside the fear they had felt a little before, flocked eagerly to see us, a great crowd thronging about our steps, some bringing food and others drink, with greatest love and incredible good will." Such is Columbus's own description of his first reception by the Indians. In Mexico there was a tradition of a Fair God, who was to come from Heaven and set up his kingdom on the earth, and to the simple-minded natives Cortes was this god; at one place fifty Mexicans were sacrificed alive to the Spaniards as to deities, and cakes dipped in the blood of the victims were offered them to eat. In California the Englishman Drake was worshiped with the greatest reverence and importuned to remain there and become King of the land. Cartier and Verrazano were gods to the Indians, and so were the first Europeans in different parts of America. Nothing more pathetic can be found in history. It was the genuine and unconscious tribute of barbarism to a superior civilization, before bitter experience had taught distrust of the intruders. The Indians had never seen horses or firearms; and to their simple minds a European, seated on a strange monster and discharging a gun with a flash of fire, must truly have seemed like a being from another world, wielding the thunderbolts of Heaven.

The Indians depended upon agriculture, hunting, and fishing for their food, and led a wandering life, moving on to new abodes when the soil of any one section and the supply of game and fish became exhausted. Women performed the manual labor, while the men passed their time in the chase and in almost perpetual warfare. Their houses were generally clustered in temporary stockaded villages, and were of different styles in different parts of the

country. In the region between the Great Lakes and the Hudson River, these habitations were usually long one-story structures, covered with bark, in the central and western part of the continent tents of buffalo skins and round mud houses, and in the southwest caves and even stone pueblos. These pueblos, sometimes accommodating as



AN INDIAN VILLAGE

From the picture by A. Bierstadt

many as five thousand people, were more substantially built than the other Indian dwellings, and give evidence of a slight advance in civilization.

The Indians in physical stature were in general fairly tall, with cinnamon-colored complexion, small, dark, deep-set eyes, high cheekbones, straight black hair, and a scanty beard. In dignity of physical bearing they far surpassed most uncivilized races. Long habit in the chase had endowed them with unusually keen senses of sight, smell, and hearing, extraordinary ability to endure hardship and pain, and great swiftness of foot, but in most other physical characteristics they were decidedly inferior. In competition with the Europeans they were seldom able to undergo hard work long and steadily, and from the point of view of civilization their manual labor was almost useless. A sad phase of their physical inferiority was manifest in the terrible mortality among them

Physical
characteristics.

from the diseases brought from Europe, principally smallpox, measles, and yellow fever. Probably the most destructive of these was smallpox, which early spread among them and in some localities carried off half the population. The number of deaths from this scourge was greatly increased because in their ignorance the victims often plunged themselves into cold water for relief. Measles, too, desolated whole sections. The same sad tale is brought from other parts of the world, where civilization and barbarism have met for the first time.

There was marked disparity in the degree of civilization attained by the Indians in different parts of the country. Those living in

Indian civilization. Central and South America, notably the Mexicans and Peruvians, were much farther advanced than the others. They built large communal houses and temples, worked in gold, silver, and copper, and invented picture writing. In general, most of the tribes displayed some skill in decorative art and pottery, basketry and weaving; but their music was primitive, they possessed no great poems or literary works, and were not truly civilized.

The Indians were essentially religious. They worshiped spiritual powers with prayers and offerings, in some instances with human sacrifices. They believed in a future life where the

Religion. happy hunting grounds continued the pleasures of earth, and in this belief they placed the trappings of the warrior on his grave. Although the Indians practiced a primitive sort of agriculture, their farms, if such a term may be applied to their shifting places of

Native plants. abode, differed widely from the farms of civilization. Their implements, like their weapons, were of stone, or, rarely, of bronze. The native crops were maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes, sunflowers, watermelons, and tomatoes. Maize, or Indian corn, on many an occasion saved the lives of the white settlers in time of need, and is now America's greatest crop. From the Indians, also, Europeans derived tobacco and white and sweet potatoes. Native dishes added by the Indians to the world's menu were mush and succotash; indeed, the words pumpkin, squash, mush, and succotash are of Indian origin. Sugar was obtained from the maple trees, but there was no sugar cane; rice was found in some regions.

The Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like those of the eleventh century, found North America a natural vine-

Native fruits. yard. In a description of New England of 1632 Thomas Morton wrote: "Vines of this kind of trees there are that beare grapes of three colors, that is to say: white, black, and red. The country is so apt of vines, that, but for the fire at the spring of the year, the vines would so overspread the land, that one should

not be able to passe for them, the fruit is as bigg of some as a musket bullet, and is excellent in taste." Edward Winslow in 1621 wrote from Plymouth in New England, of "plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson." John Smith at about the same time in Virginia saw "some few crabs, but very small and bitter." Another Englishman, writing of New England in 1634, well described the choke cherry, which he found there: "The cherrie trees yield great store of cherries which grow on clusters like grapes; they be much smaller than our English cherrie, nothing near so good if they be not fully ripe, they so furre the mouth that the tongue will cleave to the rooffe, and the throat wax hoarse with swallowing those red bullies (as I may call them) being little better in taste. English ordering may bring them to an English cherrie, but yet they are as wild as the Indians." Strawberries were mentioned as early as 1635: "Strawberries in abundance, verie large ones, some being two inches about; one may gather half a bushel in a forenoone." "Strawberry bread," made of corn meal mixed with berries, was a favorite Indian dish. There were found also in America native raspberries, blackberries, gooseberries, currants, elderberries, cranberries, blueberries, and huckleberries. Most of the plums, apples, and cherries now in domestic use, and all apricots, peaches, oranges, figs, and dates are of European origin.

There was no native American flax, hemp, or silk, though there was a native cotton. In the American fields and forests the Europeans first found vanilla, cayenne pepper, quinine, arrowroot, chocolate, and cocoa. America was rich in nuts, among them hickories (including pecans), chestnuts, walnuts, butternuts, hazelnuts, bechnuts, and acorns.

Other
American
products.

Of domestic animals the Indians used the llama and alpaca in South America; there was a native North American turkey; but horses, mules, cattle, sheep, hogs, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, and even dogs, cats, and rats, though not mice, were brought by the Europeans.

Domestic
animals.

The number of native languages when the Europeans arrived certainly reached several hundred, and the number of tribes was correspondingly large. In the extreme west of the present United States were the Apaches and Shoshones; on the Great Plains, the Siouan tribes, Omahas, Iowas, and Pawnees; in the Northwest, the Blackfeet, Cheyennes, Mandans, and Crows; on the Upper Mississippi, the Ojibwas and Illinois; in the South, the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees; in the Ohio Valley, the Miamis, Delawares, and Shawnees; on the Potomac, the Powhatans; and

The various
tribes.

south of the Great Lakes, the Iroquoian family of Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas. It is roughly estimated that at the time of the discovery of America there were within the present limits of the United States one hundred and fifty thousand Indians east of the Mississippi, and two hundred and fifty thousand west of that river, or about four hundred thousand in all. This is nearly twice as many as at the present time.

There have been theories that the Indians were the remnants of the so-called lost tribes of Israel, or that they were sprung from Chinamen who had drifted across the Pacific or had crossed on the chain of the Aleutian Islands, which form a broken line between the two continents, but modern scholarship inclines to the view that the Indians originated in America, or at least had lived here for many thousands of years. Once, too, it was believed that the Mound Builders, the makers of the curious artificial mounds of earth between the Mississippi River and the Allegheny Mountains, were a distinct race from the Indians. When opened, however, the mounds disclose the same arrowheads, tomahawks, axes, hammers, jugs, kettles, and pipes, which we have learned to associate with the Indians of the historic period, and it is now generally believed that the Mound Builders were Indians, who had lived here from time immemorial.

THE COUNTRY

The first Europeans in America were doomed to many a disappointment in the matter of climate. The effects of the Gulf Stream, which carries the heat of the Gulf of Mexico away from North America to warm the shores of western Europe, were at first not recognized by the newcomers. Their natural expectation was that in a given latitude the climate of America would approximate that of Europe. New England, from June to September, did appear to have a climate similar to that of northern Spain or southern France in the same latitude. A New England winter, on the other hand, resembled that of Norway or Sweden, while Labrador, which was only as far north as England, had a climate which in Europe was known only within the Arctic Circle. The death toll in the winter-time among the first colonists who came to America was heavy.

Low-lying shores, cut by numerous navigable streams, rendered the Atlantic coast of North America more easy of access than was the Pacific coast. The majority of these Atlantic rivers were short and swift, and possessed of water power well suited to the manufacturing which was to spring up in later centuries. The interior of the continent could not easily be penetrated along these streams, for the reason that some few miles inland they were usually

broken in their course by rapids and falls, which were difficult of passage. Still farther inland they lost themselves in a mountain barrier, the Appalachians, which extended parallel to the seashore as far south as Georgia. The waters of the St. Lawrence cut this barrier in the north, but it was early found that this waterway, filled with rapids and frozen over for nearly half the year, was not all that could be desired as a key to the interior of the continent. Nor was the Mississippi a much more satisfactory route inland, since hidden shoals rendered its ascent so difficult that navigation of its waters could be easily accomplished only southward with the current. Confronted by these conditions, the European settlers quite naturally contented themselves at first with the coast. They did not explore the passes over the mountains to the west till almost a century after their first settlement, and they did not push through these barriers in any considerable numbers for another half century. To encircle the southern extremity of the Appalachians was for a long time rendered impossible by the presence in this region of the formidable Creeks and Cherokees.

When the advancing tide of settlers at last poured over the mountains in the latter part of the eighteenth century, they found stretching before them to the west, for thousands of miles, the great interior plains of the country, passage of which was easy. The high and difficult Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada and Coast Ranges, farther on toward the Pacific, were reached so late that their conquest was facilitated by the newly contrived railroads. Throughout the great sweep from the Atlantic to the Pacific there were no insurmountable natural barriers, so that division of the country into a number of rival political units was not a geographical necessity. So far as mere physical features were concerned, the way was open for one united nation of continental dimensions.

The interior
of North
America.

Fortunately the Europeans found the struggle for existence in America comparatively easy. The Atlantic Ocean, from Newfoundland to Cape Cod, contained an abundance of sea food, particularly the valuable codfish and mackerel, which were highly esteemed as early as the days of Columbus and have constituted the basis of a valuable industry down to the present time. On land the fertile soil responded quickly to the efforts of the husbandmen. As has been well said, raising their own food has seldom been a serious problem for the settlers in virgin America. Over and above its own needs, the country has usually been able to furnish a surplus for consumption abroad. Supplies of game, such as deer, elk, wild geese, and turkeys, abounded. The forests, extending as far west

Natural
resources.

as the plains of the interior, furnished an abundance of lumber; and everywhere, in forests, streams, and plains, the beaver, otter, sable, badger, buffalo, deer, and other fur-bearing animals yielded rich returns to the fur trader. The vast mineral resources of gold, silver, copper, coal, iron, and petroleum, though not yielding up their treasure to the early settlers, have added immensely to the wealth of the country, as from time to time the secret of their existence has been wrested from nature.

The vastness of the new continent surprised the Europeans. Both North America, with 8,000,000 square miles, and South America, with 6,800,000 square miles, are larger than Europe, which totals only 3,700,000 square miles. Exclusive of the island possessions, the present area of the United States, 3,600,000 square miles, is almost as large as the whole of Europe.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What practical knowledge did the whites gain from the Indians? Why were the Indians overawed by the whites? How did the Indians receive their name? Discuss the climate of North America, as compared with that of Europe.

PART II

THE EUROPEAN COLONIES

CHAPTER III

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE AMERICA

THE word "frontier" has two meanings. First, it is used to designate that part of a country which faces another country. Thus the French speak of their German frontier, meaning by that the part of their country which faces Germany. Second, by a frontier is meant the edge or border of civilization. As civilization pushes into a new region the frontier may be said to include the little fringe of settlements on the remote outskirts. In this sense early America may be spoken of as the frontier of Europe. The first great frontier of which there is definite knowledge was that built up by the ancient Greeks, as they spread their colonies along the unoccupied borders of the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas. The Roman Empire had a frontier in Britain, in Germany, in Africa, and in other parts of the world on the borders of its domain. Then, for a thousand years and more, all the known parts of the globe that seemed desirable were filled in with people, no more outposts of civilization were erected, and the world quite forgot about frontier building till Columbus gave to civilization a new opportunity to extend its borders.

Meaning of
the word
"frontier."

What followed was in reality a grand scramble among the powers of Europe for the possession of what were considered the most desirable parts of the new continent. Utterly regardless of the rights of the natives, greedy Europe sliced up America in much the same fashion as it partitioned Africa in the nineteenth century. On the present map of Africa there are here British colonies, here French, here German, and so on; each power has taken what it could, and the native Africans have been little regarded. Just so it has been in parts of China until recently, and just so it was in the new world of Columbus.

The grand
scramble for
America.

We shall devote our main attention to those parts of the new frontier occupied by the thirteen English colonies which later formed the United States of America, but in order to understand the develop-

ment of this portion we must briefly notice those parts of the English frontier in America that did not enter into the United States, and also the American frontiers of the other European powers. We shall see how the different nations of Europe, step by step, made their settlements in America, and how these struggled with one another in rivalry; how the colonies of the English gradually grew larger and more important than the others, how at length, by a revolution, the greater part of these English colonies separated themselves from the mother country and became the independent nation of the United States of America, and how the new nation from time to time added to its area till it reached to the Pacific and even to the islands beyond.

It is necessary at the outset to understand why Europeans exchanged their life in the settled society of Europe for that of the American wilderness. In Europe the civilization of the time was at its best, while life in America meant a dangerous voyage over the sea, exposure to savage races, and utter abandonment of the comforts of home. Yet thousands made the change. Some sought gold and silver and improvement in worldly fortune, some sought to extend trade, and some to increase geographical knowledge; some went as condemned criminals to escape prison sentences, some out of a mere love of adventure, and a few to convert the natives to Christianity; but by far the largest number fled from overcrowded conditions of life at home, from religious persecution, or from the arbitrary rule of tyrannical monarchs.

The Spaniards planted their first settlements in the West Indian Islands while Columbus was still alive. Thence they spread to Mexico, to Central America, and to South America, where, in Peru, they found their golden kingdom. When the Pizarro brothers captured the Peruvian king, the royal captive, standing in a room twenty-two feet long and seventeen feet wide, made a mark on the wall as high as he could reach, offering for his freedom gold enough to fill the room up to that mark; and this enormous ransom, amounting to \$15,000,000 in gold, was easily raised, and a large amount of silver as well.

Mexico was almost as rich. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the mines of Peru and Mexico together produced annually from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000, and at the present time the apparently inexhaustible yield still goes on. Spain was rendered wonderfully rich by the influx of treasure from her western possessions, and her leadership among the nations was assured for almost a century.

Why the Europeans came to the frontier in America.

The golden kingdom of the Spanish frontier, Peru.

It followed as a matter of course that men were attracted by successful gold hunting, so that it is not strange that the Spaniards left what is now the United States, where their search revealed no gold, and flocked by thousands to the more southern lands. St. Augustine in Florida, the oldest permanent white settlement within the present limits of the United States, founded in 1565, and Santa Fé in New Mexico, founded in 1605, marked the limits of their northern settlement, and these were both small villages. The Spaniards likewise deserted the West Indies, with the exception of Cuba and a few of the larger islands, as soon as the scant supply of gold there gave out. A census of 1576 revealed the presence in South America, or, as it was called, New Spain, of 160,000 Spaniards. To a remarkable extent the natives were then living in settled villages, attending Christian churches and schools, of which there were hundreds, and slowly taking on the ways of civilization. Progress was perhaps facilitated by the intermarriage of the races. There were mestizos, born of Spanish fathers and Indian mothers; mulattoes, of white and negro parentage, for negroes were early brought from Africa; quadroons, three-fourths white and one-fourth black; octoroons, seven-eighths white and one-eighth black; and zambos, of negro and Indian parentage.

The popula-
tion of the
Spanish
frontier.

An unfavorable side of the Spanish dealings with the new races was the enforced labor of the latter. At first in the West Indies, under Columbus himself, who started the practice, and then under his successors, the Indians were enslaved without mercy and treated with the utmost cruelty. An historian, relying on a Spanish writer for his authority, thus describes the cruelty perpetrated on the helpless natives. "Indians were slaughtered by the hundreds, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by bloodhounds. . . . Once, 'in honor and reverence of Christ and his twelve apostles,' they hanged thirteen Indians in a row at such a height that their toes touched the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword points, taking care not to kill them too quickly." Gradually, be it said to the credit of the Spaniards, conditions were improved and the servitude of the Indians was prohibited, though this step was doubtless prompted more by the unprofitableness of Indian labor than by humanitarian motives.

Indian
slavery.

Even before the abolition of the slavery of the Indians had been fully accomplished, as soon as it was perceived that the Indians did not possess the physical endurance necessary for the hard work of the mines, the stronger blacks of Africa were imported to take their places. A beginning of the new traffic, which

African
slavery.

was to continue for more than three hundred and fifty years, was made in 1502, and soon Africa was yielding up her natives to America by the thousand. The slaves of the Greeks and Romans had been largely whites, often as refined and intelligent as their masters. In the fifteenth century there was hardly a vestige left in Europe of anything that could be called real slavery, when suddenly the new negro slavery sprang into existence. The Portuguese were the first in modern times to make a business of kidnapping the blacks, and upon the Spaniards rests the responsibility for their introduction into America.

The Spaniards were very jealous of their frontier empire. They would allow none but Spanish ships to trade with New Spain, and none but Spaniards to enter the country. All trade and communication with Europe was to be by way of the mother country alone, and this only once a year. Large fleets, sometimes numbering scores of vessels, annually made the passage back and forth over the Atlantic, bearing men, treasure, and supplies. But the secret of the fleets could not be kept; rumors of their untold riches would not down; and soon every civilized nation was the enemy of Spain, waiting for a chance to pounce upon the treasure ships and if possible to steal away from her a slice of America.

So occupied were the Portuguese in building up their trading posts in the East Indies, that they established but few colonies in the western world, notably a few in Brazil. As a result of European wars, the mother country and her possessions were under the Spanish yoke from 1580 to 1639, but in the latter year this yoke was thrown off, and Brazil again became a Portuguese colony, thoroughly Portuguese in language, traditions, and civilization.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What arguments can you give for and against the Spanish policy of excluding all other nations from New Spain? In what respects did the Spanish civilization of South America differ from that of the English in North America?

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH AMERICA UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE EARLY STUART KINGS, 1558-1642

CRUSHING THE SEA POWER OF SPAIN

UNDER the wise and powerful leadership of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1603, England became Spain's most troublesome rival. The exciting internal and foreign politics, which had absorbed the attention of the nation in the years immediately following the voyages of the Cabots and had prevented the sailing of more English vessels to the west, were relaxing their hold, and England was entering upon a long period of peace, recuperation, and expansion. Although small in geographical extent, the little island kingdom now boldly disputed Spain's proud claim to the title of the first power in Europe and opposed her at every step. When King Philip of Spain, with the evident design of adding England to his growing dominions, requested Elizabeth's hand in marriage, the Queen, suspecting the King's motives, gave his royal highness a polite refusal, which incident served to increase the bitterness between their realms. Violent differences of religion were another cause of estrangement. Protestant England openly lent sympathy and aid to the struggling Dutch, whom Philip, champion of the Pope, was attempting to hold to Roman Catholicism at the point of the sword. Then, too, England coveted the Spanish American frontier and the wonderful treasure ships. She was fired with a desire for colonies of her own.

The rivalry
of England
and Spain.

Said Richard Hakluyt, a leader in the movement in favor of an English onslaught on the Spanish dominions over the sea: "The plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is a greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Briton, would be a matter in shorte space of greater damage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the retorne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania. — If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *nervus belli*, and which he hath almoste oute of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will

The advice
of Richard
Hakluyt.

soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed."

Sir John Hawkins, in his good bark the *Jesus*, on which devout prayers were said every morning and every night, was among the first

The attacks of the English sea rovers. Englishmen to kidnap the blacks in Africa and carry them to America for sale. In defiance of every prohibition he boldly entered the guarded Spanish ports in pursuit of his trade, to the King of Spain's sore displeasure. One of his bravest associates was Sir Francis Drake, and together they engaged in many a combat with the Spaniards. In a sea fight off the present site of Vera Cruz, Mexico, the Spaniards captured seventy Englishmen, burned three at the stake for their Protestant faith, and cruelly flogged the rest and sent them to the galleys for life.

In the *Pelican*, 1577-1580, Drake passed through the

Circumnavigation of the globe by the sea rover, Drake. Straits of Magellan to plunder the Spanish in Peru on the west coast of South America. He raided various towns, overhauled many ships, and took as his richest prize the treasure ship, *Cacafuega*, which was on its way from Peru to Panama.

The booty from this one ship amounted to twenty-six tons of silver and eighty pounds of gold, while the total value of Drake's booty on the entire voyage was well up in the millions of dollars. To guard this vast treasure from the Spaniards, who, it was expected, would lie in wait for the despoilers on their return, necessitated a homeward voyage by unfrequented paths. The circumnavigation of the globe was decided upon, and after sailing far north in the Pacific and returning to somewhere near the present site of San Francisco, the doughty captain and his comrades turned west into the all but unknown waters, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and came back to England. His was the second voyage around the world. So far had the hostility



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

From an engraving published in 1587

of England and Spain proceeded by this time that Queen Elizabeth not only refused to censure Drake for his attacks on a power with which England was nominally at peace, but even took a share of the booty.

Another of Drake's exploits took place off the coast of Spain itself, where he sailed into the harbor of Cadiz, defeated the war ships on guard, burned more than a hundred vessels, filled his own ships with booty, and got



DRAKE'S "PELICAN" OR "GOLDEN HIND"

In this he sailed round the world, 1577-1580

away in safety. In derision it was said at the time that the English captain had "singed the King of Spain's beard."

It was this gathering spirit of "Westward Ho!" that nerved Fro-bisher, Davis, Baffin, and Hudson to venture into the forbidden Spanish realms in search of the Northwest Passage to "Westward Asia, and that inspired the freebooters Hawkins, Drake, Ho!" and their followers to defiance of the Spanish King; in this spirit, too, other daring and impatient Englishmen sought to follow Hakluyt's advice to plant "two or three strong fortes and some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Breton."

With the Queen's permission, Sir Humphrey Gilbert made unsuccessful attempts, 1578-1583, to found a settlement in Newfoundland, but at last lost his life in shipwreck.

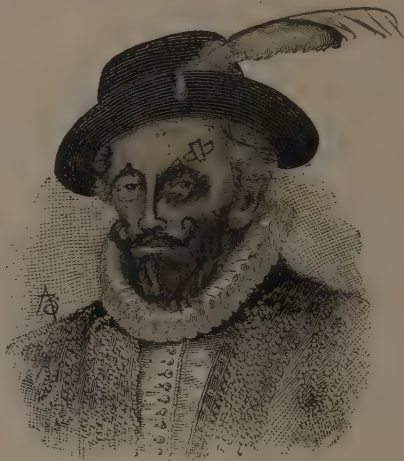
Sir Humphrey
Gilbert in
Newfound-
land.

"The way to Heaven is as near by sea as by land," he cried out as he sank beneath the waves. He had probably selected this northern land for his settlement, because of all places on the coast it seemed least exposed to attack by the Spaniards from the south.

England had no more ardent expansionist, Spain no greater enemy, than Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom the former's

rights were now given. He sent colonists out in 1584 and in 1585 to what is now North Carolina, but both expeditions failed and returned to England. One hundred and fifty men and women, whom he sent on a third expedition to the same coast, utterly disappeared, and have come to be known as the "lost colony." In this unfortunate company was little Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents within the present limits of the United States. His grant of land, which included the entire seaboard north from Florida, though still claimed by Spain, Raleigh named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, the virgin queen; in spite of the failure of his own attempts at colonization, he declared of the new land, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation."

Sir Walter Raleigh's attempts to colonize in North Carolina.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

This persistent English challenge of Spain's supremacy in the new world, as well as the continued collisions of the two powers in the politics of Europe, portended a terrible struggle. In the year 1588 Spain collected the Invincible Armada, the largest fleet ever assembled in the world's history to that time, and sent it against her rival. One hundred and thirty Spanish ships swept proudly up the English Channel, bearing three thousand cannon and thirty thousand men, while seventeen thousand Spanish veterans waited in the near-by Netherlands, ready at the first opportunity to cross over to the coast of England and reduce her to the power of Spain. The fate of England hung in the balance, but she herself had mustered an enormous fleet mighty in the power of its cannon and in the practical seamanship of its sailors. Chief in command of the English fleet was Lord Howard of Effingham, and at his side fought Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher. After fearful storms at sea and desperate fighting the would-be raiders were utterly put to rout, with a loss of over eight thousand men against an English loss of scarcely one hundred.

The defeat of Spain's Invincible Armada.

An English frontier in America was made possible by this victory, for with the sea power of her rival destroyed England's colonists could

venture over the ocean and struggle for their share of the new world with a reasonable prospect of success. The next year the English further crushed the defeated adversary by destroying over eight hundred Spanish commercial vessels in various parts of the globe.

An English frontier in America assured.

Sir Walter Raleigh now left for the west in person. In 1595 he reached the northern shores of South America, and returning wrote of "a large, rich, and beautiful empire, with the golden city of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado." This land had "more quantities of gold by manifold than the best part of the Indies or Peru; it had more great cities than even Peru had when it flourished most." The son of Mary, Queen of Scots, who upon the death of Elizabeth in 1603 became James I of England, for reasons connected with European politics adopted the policy of cultivating friendship with Spain; and by his orders, on a trumped-up charge of treason, the promoter of the incursions into Spanish America was thrown into prison, where he languished for twelve years. In the interval, however, a half score English expeditions got away to search for El Dorado, and Raleigh himself was finally released and promised pardon if he would find it. He journeyed again to the northern shores of South America in 1617, but found no treasure city and returned home to lose his head on the block under the old charge of treason. The English then abandoned South America, disgusted at their failure and well content to refrain from offering further offense to Spain in that quarter.

Attempts to plant an English colony in South America.

During these years other Englishmen had been visiting the shores of northern "Virginia," on the coast of what was soon to be called New England, and fishermen from Europe were resorting to these parts in increasing numbers. The explorer, Bartholomew Gosnold, with a handful of followers, sailed into Buzzard's Bay in 1602, but returned without making a settlement. The next year Martin Pring visited the same shores, followed in 1605 by George Weymouth, who explored particularly the coast of Maine. Though no settlements were as yet established in New England, these three voyages resulted in increasing the interest of Englishmen in that region.

Early voyages to New England.

VIRGINIA

A change was coming over the colonizing activities of the English. Small expeditions sent out by individuals had proved inadequate to cope with the difficulties encountered, and were being succeeded by

expeditions representing companies of men, whose combined capital and resources would mean increased efficiency. By the Virginia charter, or grant of privileges, of the year 1606, King James created two companies. To one, the London Company, made up of men living near London, he gave the right to colonize in Virginia between the thirty-fourth and the thirty-eighth degrees north latitude, which was, roughly speaking, between Cape Fear and the Potomac River; and the other, called the Plymouth Company, composed of men who lived near Plymouth in England, received the right to colonize between the forty-first and the forty-fifth degrees north latitude, which was approximately from the mouth of the Hudson River to the Bay of Fundy. The land between the thirty-eighth and the forty-first degrees was to be open to both companies, save that neither could make a settlement in this part within one hundred miles of the other. A second charter, granted to the London Company in 1609, added the following confusing words in description of the boundaries of its grant, land two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort, lying . . . up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, West, and Northwest, which were later interpreted as granting to this colony control of the territory northwest of the Ohio River.

Both the London Company and the Plymouth Company sent out settlers in the year 1607; and both at the start met with bad luck.

**The ill luck
of the first
settlement at
Jamestown.**

Under the patronage of the London Company, three small vessels, bearing one hundred and five settlers, crossed the Atlantic, and, storm-driven, sought the quiet waters of a river which in honor of their King they called the James, and on its banks, thirty-two miles from the mouth, they founded Jamestown. The chance selection of the site was unfortunate, for the town was surrounded on all sides by low-lying swamps, the fever and ague from which reaped an immediate harvest of human lives. Furthermore, over one-half of the company were "gentlemen" so-called, men without any definite occupation, who scorned hard work, while those who were willing to work had little incentive to do so, inasmuch as they were obliged to throw the product of their labor into the common store, from which all alike, lazy as well as thrifty, drew equal shares. In this case, at least, communism proved to be the enemy of hard work. There was, too, the ever-present peril of the hostile natives. Of the 1200 emigrants of 1619-1620, 1000 died on the voyage or in the colony within one year; in 1622-1623, the Indians massacred 347, and 1000 died of disease or starvation.

The one strong man in the beginning of the settlement was Captain

John Smith, whose wise, fearless, and energetic measures as president of the governing council of the colony probably saved the community from the fate of the near-by Raleigh settlements. Had not Smith "striven, fought, and endured as he did, the present United States of America might never have come into existence," says one writer, for it was undeniably the ultimate success of his colony that encouraged the English to further efforts. Before coming to America Smith had roamed over the various countries of Europe as a soldier of fortune in search of adventure, but here in the wilderness he was an example of industry to all. He compelled the "gentlemen" to work with their hands, conducted exploring expeditions, and carried on successful negotiations with the Indians for the sorely needed Indian corn. He had information of the great river, soon to be known as the Hudson, before Hudson started on his memorable exploration of that waterway, as appears in his letters to Hudson on geographical matters. In the fall of 1609, because of a wound which he had received, Smith left Virginia, never to return, probably with the conviction that the prospects of the colony were dark. Later he explored the New England coast and the West Indies. His motto, "To Christ and my country a true soldier and faithful servant," was typical of the man.

Gloomy days followed for Jamestown upon the departure of Smith. Of the five hundred inhabitants whom he left only sixty were living in the following spring. After this "starving time" the survivors were on the point of abandoning the enterprise, when Lord Delaware, a governor appointed by the Company, appeared at the mouth of the river with a fleet from England, bringing new colonists and an abundance of supplies. His rule and that of Sir Thomas Dale, who followed him and succeeded in breaking up communism, brought the little settlement through its dark period, and later the cultivation of tobacco ushered in prosperity.

Captain
John Smith.



JOHN SMITH

Other lead-
ers in early
Virginia.

The native tobacco proved to be the most suitable crop for the soil of Virginia. Its cultivation, first begun systematically by Sir John Rolfe, brought a better class of colonists, as soon as it became apparent that fortunes, after all, could be made in Virginia. Columbus himself had been the discoverer of tobacco and had introduced its use into Europe. To stop the spread of the habit in England, King James wrote, "A Counterblaste To Tobacco," in which he designated tobacco smoking as "the greatest sin"; yet the demand for tobacco in England and the supply in America went on increasing. The shipment of 40,000 pounds in 1619 reached 1,500,000 pounds annually in a few years.

Dutch traders engaged in bringing African slaves to the Spanish settlements farther south, where such labor had proved distinctly profitable from an economic point of view, unloaded the first cargo of negro slaves in Virginia in 1619, and from this event the institution of black slavery in the United States took its beginning. Few at the time saw anything questionable in the system. By 1660 Virginia had two thousand negro slaves and four times that number of "indentured servants," the latter being poor whites who paid their transportation charges from Europe by binding themselves out to a form of slavery for a term of years.

In the same year, 1619, the people of Virginia for the first time took part in the making of their own laws, when, at the bidding of the Company, they sent two representatives from each town and plantation to form a House of Burgesses, which was to be their legislature. Twenty-two members came together in the church at Jamestown in the presence of the governor of the colony, and after prayer by the minister proceeded to business "to the glory of God and the good of this plantation." The first laws enacted punished "idleness, gaming, drunkenness, and excess in apparell," ordered every householder to plant corn, mulberry trees, flax, hemp, and grapevines, and commanded all to attend divine service on the Sabbath on pain of heavy fines. This beginning of popular government on the frontier, although originating not in the insistent demands of the settlers themselves but in the provisions of the London Company for their colonists, ushered in a new epoch in colonial administration. The same idea of the right of the people to make their own laws later prevailed throughout all the English colonies in America and became the basis both of the present state governments and of the Federal government of the United States.

After seventeen years of control in Virginia, the London Company was deprived of its charter by the King in 1624 and relieved of all

Tobacco culture.

Slavery in Virginia.

The first legislative assembly in America.

further responsibility for the Virginia settlers. Instead of receiving appointment from the Company, the governor of the colony was now appointed by the King, who assumed complete control. Virginia therefore became a royal colony, whereas so long as it was governed by a company or corporation it had

Change of
government
in Virginia.



JAMESTOWN, VA., IN 1622

From an old drawing printed at Leyden by Peter Vander, 1707.

constituted a corporate colony. In taking this step His Majesty was doubtless moved by the fact that his Puritan enemies, who had by this time become a troublesome factor in English politics, had gained the ascendancy in the councils of the London Company and had granted to the colonists their popular law-making assembly. James was doing all that he could in England to curb the House of Commons, and the setting up of a similar representative law-making body in an English colony must have been repugnant to him. In rescinding the charter of the Company the King did not, however, do away with the Virginia legislature. He probably intended to take this step, but he died the following year, before any definite action was taken. His son and successor, Charles I, retained the House of Burgesses, probably moved by the hope of securing from it a monopoly of the increasingly profitable tobacco trade.

NEW ENGLAND

It will be recalled that when the London Company planted its first settlers on the James in 1607, the Plymouth Company set out at the same time to make a settlement in the northern part of the King's

Virginian domain. The former, as we have seen, succeeded in its enterprise after serious discouragements at the start, but the latter failed miserably. Under the leadership of George Popham, brother of the Chief Justice of England, the first settlers of the Plymouth Company reached the mouth of the Kennebec River on the coast of Maine, built a fort in which they passed the winter, and the next spring returned to England. One bleak Maine winter was enough for them. Seven years later, at the instigation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Plymouth Company sent John Smith, the hero of early Virginia, to explore the coast line that fell within its grant. He skirted along the coast and completed an excellent map, in which he made the first use of such common geographical terms as New England, Plymouth, Cape Ann, Cambridge, and Charles River; in his narrative, too, are found the Indian names "Pennobscot," "Pemmayquid," "Sagadahock," "Kenebecka," and "Massachusets." Champiain had gone over the same ground only a few years before in behalf of the King of France. The Plymouth Company did not try to follow up Smith's explorations by a second attempt at settlement, and in 1620 it lost its charter to another company, known as the Council for New England, in which, as in its predecessor, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit.

The colony of Plymouth, which was the first permanent colony set up in New England, was sent out neither by the Plymouth Company nor by the Council for New England. It owed its origin to religious persecution. Such was the intolerant spirit common in the England of the seventeenth century, that thousands who could not follow the majority in their religious beliefs and practices fled for freedom to the frontier in America as to a place of refuge. As has been said, "Ever since the age of stone hatchets, colony planters have been drawn from the ranks of the uneasy."

After Martin Luther broke away from the Roman Catholic Church in Germany in the early part of the sixteenth century and formed the beginning of the Protestant group of churches, a quarrel arose between King Henry VIII of England and the Pope, which ended in the formation of the present Church of England, quite independent of the Pope at Rome. Dissension arose as to what should be the nature of the new church. King Edward VI, 1547-1553, was in general loyal to the new church as his father had established it. His sister, Queen Mary, 1553-1558, on the other hand, was an ardent Roman Catholic and sought to reinstate the power of the Pope throughout the realm. Her efforts failed,

The failure of the Plymouth Company in northern Virginia.

Religious persecution in England.

The effects in England of the Protestant Reformation.

though she sought to enforce them by bitter persecutions and even burnings at the stake. Under Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1603, the third and last of the children of Henry VIII to ascend the throne, the Act of Supremacy was passed by Parliament, definitely divorcing the English Church from Rome, and requiring all the clergy and all holding political office to recognize the Queen as "the Supreme Governor" of the Church. The Act of Uniformity provided for uniformity in worship, requiring the use of the Book of Common Prayer and enacting that the ornaments of the church and the vestments of the clergy should be those sanctioned under Edward VI.

These arrangements did not satisfy all the reformers. The Puritans originated in the class of Protestants, who fled for temporary refuge from the persecutions of "Bloody Mary" to various German, Dutch, and French towns, and to Geneva, Switzerland, where they imbibed the religious views of John Calvin. Returning to their English homes at the accession of Elizabeth, they contended for a purer prayer book and a purer form of worship, as they expressed it. Though willing to accept a state church and to pay taxes for its support, they desired to purify it of ceremonies that reminded them of the Roman Church; they opposed the use of the cap and the surplice in the church services, the making of the sign of the cross, the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony, and kneeling at the sacrament. The Queen and the majority of the nation clung to these forms because they loved them as a part of the church worship. Most of the Puritans in Elizabeth's time had not reached the point of separation from the Established Church. That branch of the Puritans, however, called Independents or Separatists, not only contended for a purer form of worship, but went farther and insisted that each congregation should be complete in itself and govern itself, independent of outside control. Unlike the majority, they were not willing to be included within the Established Church, but wished to separate from it entirely and form a new church.

The Puritans
and the
Separatists.

Only the strongest-minded and the stoutest-hearted took the radical separatist position, and faced the fines, imprisonment, and even death which such a course often entailed. Loyalty to the Established Church was regarded largely as identical with loyalty to the sovereign, its head, and an attempt was made to compel all to obey the royal commands in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs, lest disobedience in church matters, if unchecked, lead to disobedience in civil matters and even to the downfall of the government. The procession of exiles from England for conscience' sake started in the early days of Elizabeth's reign, when in-

The flight
of the Sepa-
ratists to
Holland.

dividual Separatists from time to time sought refuge in Holland, then the most tolerant of civilized countries in matters of religion. Year by year they went in larger numbers. Elizabeth's successor, James I, rejected a petition of the Puritans praying for changes in the church, and scornfully declared that he would make all conform to the established



THE BREWSTER HOUSE, SCROOBY, ENGLAND

The house of William Brewster was the first house of worship of the Scrooby church (organized in 1606), the members of which fled to Holland in 1608, and finally emigrated to New England in 1620.

church or "harry them out of the land." In 1608 the entire congregation of a country church at Scrooby, in the north central part of England, reinforced by individuals from different sections of the country, moved to Leyden, Holland, where they formed a church and remained for twelve years. Although they enjoyed complete freedom of worship in their new home, as true sons of Old England the refugees saw with regret that their children were turning from their native language to that of the Dutch and were losing the manners and customs of England. Some of them, too, who were not prosperous in business, desired to try their fortunes elsewhere, and some were eager to spread the Gospel to the heathen of America. So they decided to become pilgrims again and seek a new home across the seas.

The exiles were attracted by the stories of the fertility of the soil and the favorable climate of the northern shores of South America, and in making their plans they first considered these regions as a possible place of settlement, but fearing the Spaniards they gave this up and selected a spot on the coast of North America near the mouth of the Hudson River. Though they set sail as voluntary colonists, under the

The setting
out of the
Pilgrims to
America.

patronage of no company, the London Company gave its consent to their choice of location, which came within its grant; and furthermore, a group of London merchants advanced the needed funds as a business venture. The emigrants went first to England and embarked for their long voyage at Southampton in 1620 on the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*; but the former was soon found to be unseaworthy, and the two vessels put in at Plymouth, where as many as could reëmbarked on the *Mayflower* alone.

The voyage proved a difficult one. Near its end "shoulds and roring breakers" barred the way to the intended destination, so that of necessity plans were changed and the *Mayflower* finally "rid in saftie" off Cape Cod, at what is now Arrival in
America. Provincetown, Massachusetts, entirely outside the domain of the London Company. "Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles and miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente." They had come to their journey's end not in the pleasant springtime, as was the lot of the newcomers at Jamestown, but in cold and bleak November. The *Mayflower* remained off Provincetown for more than a month, and here, in the little ship, Peregrine White was born, the first New Englander.

When on December 21 they arrived at Plymouth, which was selected as the permanent site of the new home, there was still no general landing; the women and children and the disabled men spent the entire winter on shipboard, while The settle-
ment at
Plymouth. the able-bodied men passed a few hours every day on land, building log huts. Before spring was over one-half the little company of one hundred and two people were dead. "It pleased God to visit us with death daily, and with so generall a disease that the living were scarce able to burie the dead," said their own historian, Governor Bradford. For a number of years they suffered from the evils of communism, as did the settlers in Jamestown.

Early in the first spring the hearts of the Pilgrims were surprised and gladdened by the greeting of a friendly Indian, who approached with the words, "Welcome, Englishmen!" an expression that he had probably learned from English fishermen on the coast of Maine. His name was Samoset; and Samoset brought Squanto, who taught the newcomers to raise the native Indian corn; Squanto in turn brought Massasoit, a chief of the tribe of the Wampanoags, who made with the settlers a friendly treaty of peace which was kept for over fifty years.

Among the leaders of the Pilgrims were William Brewster, the elder, who remained an influential colonist for many years in the new home; John Caryl, the first governor, who died during the hardships of the first winter; William Bradford, the second governor and historian of the colony; Miles Standish, their military leader; and Edward Winslow, Governor Bradford's successor.

The people of the United States look back with admiration upon the Pilgrim Fathers, because as a whole, amid trying circumstances, they displayed unusually high ideals, unconquerable courage, and a wonderful love of democracy. "It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage," wrote Bradford. Left by chance to themselves outside the limits of the London Company, which had given them their right to land, and without authority from the King or from the Council for New England, within whose grant by chance they found themselves, they "solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another" agreed on shipboard, in what is known as the Mayflower Compact, to set up a pure democracy, in which the people were to make their own laws and select their own officials. When in twenty years there came to be too many voters for all to assemble in one place for purposes of government, they adopted the representative principle already in operation in Virginia. Even then for a number of years the people of the town of Plymouth and of the surrounding towns, which together constituted Plymouth Colony, enjoyed the referendum, that is, the right to accept or reject the laws passed for them by the legislature. As long as Plymouth existed as an independent colony, up to 1691, she never possessed a charter.

King James I zealously endeavored to the end of his reign to carry on the established Church of England as he had received it from Elizabeth; and, like the latter, in carrying out his policy he was vigorously opposed by the non-conforming Puritans and Separatists. Under the next King, Charles I, who succeeded his father James in 1625, the religious discord continued, and in 1628 growing political discontent added to the troubles of the King. After waging a bitter quarrel with Parliament over the respective rights of Crown and Parliament, Charles had the humiliation of being forced to sign the Petition of Right, the first limitation on the royal powers passed by Parliament for one hundred and fifty years. This prohibited to the King certain long-standing practices, to wit, certain forms of taxation, arbitrary imprisonment, billeting of soldiers on the people and martial law in time of

The leaders
of the
Pilgrims.

The democ-
racy of the
Pilgrims.

The difficul-
ties of King
Charles with
the Puritans.



THE FIRST THANKSGIVING DINNER

With portraits of the Pilgrim Fathers

From a drawing by W. L. Taylor. Copyright by The Ladies' Home Journal

peace. The act was but a temporary expedient, for the King broke it almost at once; in fact he had probably never intended to keep it.

Those who had for years stood out against the King in ecclesiastical matters, were now, as their enemies had predicted would be the case, the leaders in the political opposition to the King. In anger at the stubborn spirit displayed against him, Charles dissolved Parliament in 1629 and imprisoned five of its members who were the most outspoken in their opposition

Arbitrary
government
in England.



THE BARKER HOUSE AT PEMBROKE, MASS.

The first house in America of which there is any authentic record. Built in 1628.

to him. For the next eleven years, 1629-1640, he ruled the kingdom without a Parliament and imposed arbitrary taxation upon the people without the consent of their representatives. His two leading advisers in the crisis were Sir Thomas Wentworth, later known as the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud. Both these statesmen were loyal Englishmen, but their loyalty was to the King and not to the people. The watchword of both was "thorough," which meant unceasing persecution of their opponents.

Rather than submit to the new tyranny, now civil as well as ecclesiastic, from fifteen to twenty thousand "uneasy" Puritans migrated to eastern Massachusetts in the short period of ten years, 1630-1640. The new colony of Massachusetts Bay received from the Council of New England a grant of land extending from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimac River and westward to the South

The Puritan
emigration to
Massachu-
setts Bay.

Sea. The King, probably not knowing that a colony of Puritans was to be established, granted a charter of unusually liberal character, which practically entrusted full powers of government to the commercial company sending out the colony. B

✓ In 1628, before the charter was secured, John Endicott, with a small party of settlers, had founded Salem on Massachusetts Bay. After the charter was granted, John Winthrop, who had been elected governor, by the Massachusetts Bay Company, arrived in New England on June 12, 1630, with eleven ships and nine hundred colonists, and Boston, Newtown (later Cambridge), Charlestown, Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, and other near-by towns were quickly settled. Seventeen vessels in all arrived from England in this year, bearing two thousand settlers. Only a few of the newcomers found their way to Plymouth, but there always existed the best of feeling between Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, for both the Pilgrims and the Puritans were of the same sturdy thrifty stock of English yeomen, devoted to similar religious and political ideals. Puritan settlements.



JOHN WINTHROP

The colonists of Massachusetts Bay, like their brethren at Plymouth, loved self-government, though they were far from displaying the spirit of democracy manifested at Plymouth. Like Virginia in its earliest days, Massachusetts was a corporate colony. Instead of remaining in England, as did the members of the company governing Virginia, certain of the Massachusetts company, legally empowered to carry on its affairs, joined the emigrants to New England and brought their charter with them, that they might always have in America legal proof of their rights. The colony of Massachusetts and the present state of Massachusetts sprang from this commercial company. The government of Massachusetts Bay.

The charter vested the government of the colony in the stockholders of the company, the freemen as they were called. In 1630 there were in the colony only twelve of these freemen, that is, in a

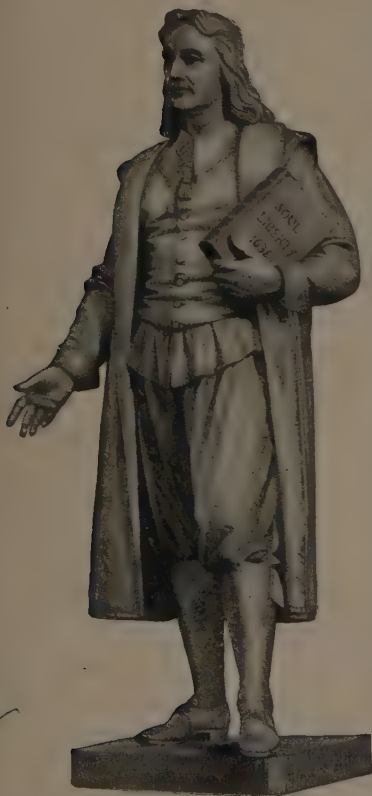
cluster of settlements numbering two thousand people, only twelve were endowed with the right to vote. The government of the few was not perpetuated. In one month in 1631 one hundred and eighteen persons were admitted into the company as freemen with the right to vote. It was provided at the same time that in the future only those should be made voters who were members of the Puritan Church, for by this time the Puritans in America had taken the separatist course of organizing their own church. This was not democracy in the modern sense, but under it the number of voters gradually increased. Governor John Winthrop defended the restriction of the suffrage in these words: "The best part is always the least, and of that least part the wiser part is always the lesser." It was the original intention to transact public business in an assembly of all the freemen; but as the number of freemen increased and the foundation of new settlements dispersed them, law-making and the choosing of the governor were left to a board of assistants elected by the freemen. It was even provided that the assistants should not be elected every year but should hold their seats during good behavior. This was too much like oligarchy for the independent frontiersmen. When, at one time, a tax was levied by the assistants, the freemen of Watertown objected and insisted on a more representative form of government. Thereupon, fifteen years after the adoption of the representative principle in Virginia, and four years before its adoption in Plymouth, provision was made that the freemen should choose the governor and the assistants each year, and should send delegates from each town to the general court or law-making body. At first the board of assistants and the deputies of the towns met together as the general court, but in 1644 they separated into two bodies, the assistants forming the upper house and the deputies the lower house.

As in the case of Massachusetts Bay and of Plymouth, it was religious persecution that led to the founding of Rhode Island, only this time it was persecution as practiced by the Puritans themselves. They had migrated to secure the right to worship God as they saw fit, but not with the idea of tolerating in their midst those desiring to worship in a different way. Among the first to suffer from the rigors of the narrow Puritanism was a young clergyman named Roger Williams. This apostle of religious liberty deemed it wrong to swear an oath; he denied that the state had the right to compel men to be religious, and he upheld the doctrine of the complete separation of church and state. The Puritans resented his stand on these matters, and in the year 1636 Williams

**Aristocracy
versus
democracy.**

**The found-
ing of Rhode
Island.**

was banished from the colony for his too independent views. He would not return to England, but with a small following he plunged farther into the wilderness, founded the new colony of Rhode Island, and piously called the first settlement Providence. "The doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience," he wrote, "is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ."



STATUE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

The next year Williams was joined in his enterprise by Anne Hutchinson, who with a handful of **Anne Hutchinson** followers was obliged to

leave Massachusetts because she disagreed with the Puritan ministers on questions of theology, and because she practiced woman's rights by freely criticizing and discussing their views in public. Mrs. Hutchinson remained in Rhode Island a few years and then moved farther into the wilderness to the western part of Connecticut, where she was killed by the Indians. Of a surety these colony planters of Rhode Island were "drawn from the ranks of the uneasy."

It is needless to say that Rhode Island enjoyed democracy, and, as long as Roger Williams **The government of Rhode Island.** lived, religious freedom, or, as he called it, "soul liberty." After the leader's death,

the colony retrograded so far as to exclude Roman Catholics. As might be expected, for many years the orthodox of Massachusetts would have no dealings with the inhabitants of Rhode Island. In the first days at Providence, Williams and his followers bound themselves together for the purposes of civil government by a compact similar to that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and proceeded for many years without a royal charter.

Connecticut also was settled by the "uneasy" people of Massachusetts. Outposts in the rich valley of the Connecticut River had

been set up as early as 1634. In June of the disturbed year of 1636, soon after the exile of Williams, and while the colony of Massachusetts Bay was lashed by the growing controversy over Mrs. Hutchinson, Thomas Hooker of Newtown and his entire congregation set out on foot for the Connecticut valley, driving their cattle before them and carrying their household goods in wagons. They founded Hartford on the Connecticut, while near-by, on the same river, other congregations from Dorchester and Watertown settled Windsor and Wethersfield. The reasons for this migration are not altogether plain. Disapproval of religious intolerance doubtless was a leading factor, and it is known that to Governor Winthrop's position on the suffrage Hooker opposed more democratic sentiments. "In matters which concern the common good," said Hooker, "a general council chosen by all, to transact the business which concerns all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for the relief of the whole." There may be truth, too, in the assertion that Hooker was jealous of the overshadowing influence of his rival fellow-minister, John Cotton of Boston.

In their new home the refugees were more tolerant in religion than were their brethren in Massachusetts, and they loved and practiced self-government. With no authority but their own desires, the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield united themselves into a republic under an instrument known as the Fundamental Orders, the first written constitution in the history of the United States. Connecticut, like Rhode Island, conducted its affairs for more than a quarter of a century without a charter.

The colony of New Haven was founded in 1638. The year before, John Davenport, a Puritan minister from England, and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant of his congregation, with a few followers, landed in Boston, but on account of the spirit of controversy in that town decided to move on and found a settlement of their own. With a keen eye to commercial possibilities they searched out a good harbor and founded the town of New Haven, and here in the wilderness, under Eaton as the first governor, they set up a Bible Commonwealth, a theocracy more bigoted and less democratic than Massachusetts Bay. Other towns sprang up, including Milford, Guilford, Branford, and Stamford, and all together formed the colony of New Haven.

Early New Hampshire was settled largely by colonists from Massachusetts. In 1622 the Council for New England issued to John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges a grant of land extending from the Merrimac River to the Kennebec River. Mason

Another new frontier, Connecticut.

The government of Connecticut.

The New Haven colony.

New Hampshire.

took as his share that part west of the Piscataqua, which developed into New Hampshire, Gorges that part east of the Piscataqua which came to be known as Maine. There were early settlements in New Hampshire at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, at Dover, and at Exeter, but there was no charter from the King, no legal provision for the government of the land granted by the Council. Believing that they were outside the limits of Massachusetts, the settlers of Exeter, under their leader, John Wheelwright, a brother-in-law of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, drew up a compact of government similar to the Mayflower Compact. Inasmuch as many of the people of Exeter had been banished from Massachusetts, they were probably glad in this way to take affairs into their own hands. Massachusetts, however, proceeded to claim the New Hampshire towns as her own, which she could do by virtue of the uncertainty as to her own northern boundary line. It will be recalled that by the King's charter this line was to run from the Atlantic to the Pacific from a point three miles north of the Merrimac, "to the northward of the saide river called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the northward of any and every parte thereof." When Massachusetts ascertained that this stream actually rose far in the north, she formally annexed New Hampshire as coming within her grant, and in 1641 New Hampshire ceased her protests against the act and became a part of Massachusetts.

Gorges in Maine succeeded where Mason in New Hampshire failed, so far as royal favor was concerned, for Maine received a separate charter in 1639. The new colony was to extend from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec, and one hundred and Maine. twenty miles inland, with Gorges himself as proprietor, so that Maine became a proprietary colony in distinction from a corporate or from a royal colony. A loyal supporter of the Church of England, Gorges was the sworn enemy of Puritan Massachusetts. Few were attracted to Maine, though there were small settlements at Pemaquid, Monhegan Island, Saco, and on the neck of land where Portland now stands; and in 1677 the heirs of Gorges sold out their claims to Massachusetts for £1250. The district of Maine remained a part of Massachusetts throughout the colonial period and even after the formation of the United States of America.

Usually in the history of America, colonizing expeditions into the wilderness have resulted in wars with the Indians, the original occupants of the soil. The year after Hooker and his flock journeyed into Connecticut the Pequot Indians rose up to Indian wars. assert their ownership of the land. A company of eight hundred whites, with three hundred Indian allies, led by Captain John Mason and

Captain John Underhill, contrived to surprise them in one of their stockades, and only seven Pequots lived to make their escape. More than six hundred were butchered in cold blood.

Forty years later all New England was involved in an Indian war, known as King Philip's War, in which the English lost six hundred men, twelve hundred houses, and thousands of cattle, — in all nearly a million dollars' worth of property; three thousand Indians were killed; King Philip himself, son of their old friend Massasoit, betrayed by one of his own men, was shot down by stealth, his head and hands cut off, and his body quartered and hung up on four trees. The New Englanders had surely not learned the gospel of mercy.

Although the heavy immigration into Massachusetts exerted a powerful influence in keeping the natives quiet, constant vigilance on the part of the colonists was necessary. In 1643,

The New England Confederation.

under the leadership of Massachusetts and without the sanction of the King, the four New England colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts—which now included New Hampshire—Connecticut, and New Haven, united to form the New England Confederation for mutual defense against the Indians in their midst, against the French on the north in Canada, and against the Dutch on the west in New Netherland. Rhode Island, the despised refuge of Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, and Maine, the proprietary colony of the unfriendly Gorges, were excluded by the jealousy of Massachusetts. The Confederation was the result of the same necessity of military defense that later drove thirteen of the British colonies together in 1776. It persisted as a unifying influence for forty years, and proved an effective agency in waging the struggle against King Philip. In the conduct of the affairs of the Confederation each colony had two votes, though on several important occasions, like that in 1653, when an attempt was made to declare war on the Dutch settlers in the Valley of the Hudson, while the English and the Dutch were fighting one another in Europe, the two votes of Massachusetts outweighed the other six and defeated the project. Inasmuch as the levies of men and supplies in time of war were apportioned among the four colonies according to population, it was not unreasonable for Massachusetts to have the controlling voice.

In the records of the proceedings of the Confederation for the year 1643 were recommendations that "every man may keep by him a good gunn & sword, one pound of powder with foure pounds of shott with the match or flints suitable," that there be one and the same bushel measure in all the colonies, that military drill be held six times a year, that Massachusetts in case of

Proceedings of the Confederation.

war send one hundred and fifty men, Plymouth thirty, Connecticut thirty, and New Haven twenty-five, and that a general collection be taken "for the mayntenance of poore scholars at the colledg at Cambridge." It was ordered "that no person in any of the united colonies shall directly or indirectly sell to any Indians either powder, shott, bullets, guns, swords, daggers, arrowheads, or any ammuniti^on."

"In all history," says one historian, speaking of early New England, "there has been no other instance of colonization so exclusively effected by picked and chosen men." The colonists themselves pointed to their origin with pride. A New England colonial governor declared, "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." Since from these early New Englanders a large portion of the present population of the United States has sprung, and in view of the fact that they have exercised a vast influence upon the history of the country in general, their character is of national interest.

Importance
of New
England.

One of the finest things about the Puritans was their devotion to the cause of education. Hardly had they reared their first homes in the wilderness, when they started their public schools. "It being one of the chief projects of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture," ran an early law of Massachusetts, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors; it is therefore ordered" that every town of fifty householders or more appoint one to teach "all such children as shall resort to him to read and write." A town of one hundred families was to set up a grammar school in which youths might be "fitted for the University." In 1636, by order of the legislature, a college was founded in Newtown or Cambridge, that "the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's word perish." This institution was called Harvard College in honor of the Reverend John Harvard, who endowed it with his own library of 260 volumes and a legacy of £700.

Education
among the
Puritans.

The New England Puritans, fleeing from persecution for conscience' sake, were essentially religious. They exhibited a strange mixture of austere pietism and broadminded service to the state; yet with all their estimable qualities and their devotion to popular education and self-government, they showed traits of cruelty and narrowness that were anything but admirable. They were cruel in the extreme in their treatment of the Indians; and like most of the contemporary world they were intolerant toward those who differed from them, as was evidenced in their dealings with Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson.

The religious
spirit.

The Quakers were victims of this intolerant spirit. The fact that this inoffensive sect was suffering in England for non-conformity to the laws concerning religion, just as the English Puritans themselves had suffered, did not deter Massachusetts from falling upon the Quakers with great severity. In an old book entitled "A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecution and Martyrdom of the . . . Quakers in New England" it is recorded that "twelve strangers in that country . . . received twenty-three whippings, the most of them with a whip or three cords, with knots at the end," that "two were beaten with pitched ropes, the blows amounting to an hundred and thirty-nine," that "there were twenty-five banishments, upon the penalties of being whipt, or having their ears cut, or branded in the hand, if they returned," that five were "kept fifteen days (in all) without food," that one was "laid neck and heels in Irons for sixteen hours," that one was "very deeply burnt in the right hand with the letter H, after he had been whipt with above thirty stripes," that "three had their right ears cut by the hangman in the prison," that an order was made "that those who had not wherewithal to answer the fines that were laid upon them (for their Consciences) should be sold for Bond men and Bond women to Barbados, Virginia, or any of the English plantations," that eighteen were "banished" and "three of the servants of the Lord were put to death."

The sternness of the Puritan character found gruesome expression in their cruel punishment of witchcraft. The belief was general in those days that certain individuals could bewitch others, that is, could exercise supernatural influence over them, and in common with the larger part of Christendom the Puritans acted on the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Witches had already been hanged in England and occasionally executions had taken place in Massachusetts for the crime of witchcraft, when a strange outburst of the superstition occurred in Salem Village in 1692. Young girls, readers of wierd tales, began to imagine strange things. They fancied themselves bewitched and accused certain old women of being witches and of casting the evil spell over them. The charges were believed, and before the excitement abated nineteen victims were hanged, one was pressed to death, and more than a hundred were cast into prison and cruelly tortured. Revulsion of feeling came shortly; men perceived their delusion; and the intensity of repentance was as deep as the original excitement. The Puritan extremes, terrible as they were, were generally to be ascribed to a passion for duty.

The fate of
the Quakers
in New
England.

Witchcraft.

MARYLAND

The Roman Catholic refuge in Maryland.

Fourteen years after the Pilgrim Fathers reached Plymouth, while Massachusetts was fast filling up with Puritans, and before Rhode Island and Connecticut were founded, three hundred Englishmen, many of them Roman Catholics, under the patronage of Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, planted a colony on the north of Virginia, which they called Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the queen of Charles I, and dedicated as a refuge for distressed Romanists. The refuge was sorely needed, for the laws of England at this time were severe against men and women of this faith. The first settlement in Maryland was called St. Mary's, and thither flocked hundreds of Catholics during the next few years; but while the members of this church were given the warmest welcome, people of other religions were not excluded and practical religious freedom was enjoyed by all. Maryland's Toleration Act of 1649 formally guaranteed freedom in religion to all who professed "to believe in Jesus Christ." Although this law does not appear extremely liberal according to the standards of the present day, at that time it was in advance of most of the world. It was probably enacted for the double purpose of attracting settlers of the Protestant faith and of warding off from the colony attacks by the Puritans, who were then controlling England under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell.

The practice of "soul liberty" in Rhode Island and the enactment of the Toleration Act in Maryland are the first important landmarks in the history of the development in America of that religious freedom which is the pride of the United States to-day. Later, William Penn forwarded the movement in Pennsylvania, and religious freedom to a certain extent was permitted in New Netherland and subsequently in New York. In the next century, with the assent of every state in the newly formed national government, the first amendment was written into the Constitution of the United States, declaring that Congress "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150

EARLY VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Religious liberty in America.

Maryland, like Maine under Gorges, was a proprietary colony. There were, as we have seen, three kinds of colonies, — royal, proprietary, and corporate. In the first, which was directly under the control of the crown, while representative law-making was, as a rule, permitted to the people, the King in fact largely controlled even that function of government, by the exercise of the veto power over the acts of the legislature and by virtue of his appointment of the governor and judicial officials. On the other hand, in the proprietary colonies, although these were a part of the King's domain, the reins of government were given over by the King to proprietors or groups of proprietors in a charter defining their powers. The proprietors were allowed to choose the governors and usually to exercise their own pleasure as to whether or not popular law-making bodies should be allowed. Finally the corporate colonies, so called because the charters were given to companies or corporations, were practically self-governing, even electing their own governors.

The three kinds of colonies.

THE WEST INDIES

Stretching away to the southeast from Florida for hundreds of miles lie some three thousand small coral reefs and islands, known as the Bahama Islands. South of these and in general parallel to them lie the four larger islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola or Santo Domingo, and Porto Rico, and continuing from these farther to the southeast, in a great sweep that does not end until the mainland of South America is reached, comes another long thread of small islands which geographers for convenience have divided into two groups: first, those nearer to Porto Rico, called the Leeward Islands; and second, those farther to the east and exposed to the winds and storms of the Atlantic, called the Windward Islands. A hundred or more miles to the east of the Windward Islands, quite alone by itself, lies the island of Barbados. North of all these islands and seven hundred miles straight east from Virginia, are the Bermuda Islands.

The geography of the West Indies.

Though discovered by the Spaniards soon after Columbus, the Bermuda Islands remained uninhabited and almost unknown till 1609, when they were occupied by one of the early expeditions on its way to Virginia; and at once they entered into competition with Virginia for settlers. The English arrived in the Leeward Islands at St. Christopher or St. Kitts three years after the Pilgrim Fathers reached Plymouth in New England, and in the next ten years they succeeded in spreading to a number of the surrounding islands, chief of which were Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, and St. Vincent.

The various island settlements.

The Bahamas were discovered and then abandoned by the Spaniards in the earliest days of American exploration. The first permanent settlement in these islands was made in 1629 by English Puritans fleeing from the persecutions at home.

The
Bahamas.

Jamaica, the largest of the English West Indies, was taken from the Spaniards in 1655, and under its new masters was immensely prosperous. Says one historian, "As easy a road to riches as could be found by an Englishman of the Georgian epoch was to own an estate in Jamaica; and by appointing an agent it was not necessary for him always to live there, although there were many who loved the country and made it their home."

Jamaica.

Fertile Barbados, twenty-one miles long and fourteen miles wide, was settled five years after Plymouth. At the end of its first eleven years it numbered six thousand inhabitants and in fifty years one hundred and fifty thousand, or more than all the English colonies of the mainland at that time. Her connection with the mainland was intimate, for almost every vessel, sailing between England and America, took the southern route and called at her port, while on certain occasions she furnished hundreds of her citizens as immigrants to the mainland. Growing more rapidly than any other British frontier settlement, Barbados was universally recognized as the most populous and richest English colony in America throughout the seventeenth century. The chief crop was sugar. Says one writer in describing the island, "Never had the earth beheld such a number of planters collected in so small a compass, or so many rich productions raised in so short a time."

Barbados.

It is necessary to take the West Indies into consideration in the study of the history of the United States in order to escape the erroneous but common impression that all the important English colonies in America were situated on the mainland and to gain an adequate comprehension of the interaction of the different parts of the English colonial empire on one another. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries England regarded her rich and beautiful islands as her most valuable American possessions. Down to 1763 there were probably more commercial expeditions from England to the West Indies than to the near-by mainland.

The place of
the West In-
dies in Eng-
lish colonial
history.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

In what sense is it true to say that the defeat of the Spanish Armada was the opening event in the history of the United States? Compare conditions in early Jamestown with those in early Plymouth. What was the origin of representative government in Virginia, in Plymouth, and in Massachusetts? Why did the people of Massachusetts so readily disperse and set up colonies in distant parts of New England? Describe the treatment accorded to the Indians in colonial New England. Account for the devotion of New England to popular education. What were the Connecticut Blue Laws? Why did not the Spaniards destroy early Jamestown? What made the difference in the prosperity of early Plymouth and early Massachusetts? What were Raleigh's services to English colonization? What prominent explorers visited the New England coasts before the Pilgrims? Distinguish the words Puritans, Separatists, Pilgrims, Non-conformists, and Dissenters. What important Indian wars took place in colonial New England, and what was the effect of these wars on the growth of the colonies and on their relations to one another?

CHAPTER V

DUTCH, SWEDISH, DANISH, AND RUSSIAN AMERICA

THE little republic of Holland was not a likely spot for the seat of a colonial empire. Her home dominions were not much larger than the present state of Rhode Island, the greater part of her territory lay below the level of the sea, and in the year 1609 she was emerging from a terrible struggle for liberty against Philip II of Spain. With bravery and persistence she had made her independence good, and by fierce attacks on the outlying possessions of her persecutor had gained possession of the Spice Islands of Asia, which Spain had then only recently acquired from Portugal.

The begin-
nings of
modern
Holland.

The situation of Holland made seamen of her people, her seamen made her commerce, and her commerce was the foundation of her colonial empire. After the acquisition of the Spice Islands her prosperity grew apace. Her trading vessels were on every sea. Through the exploration of Henry Hudson in 1609, while he was temporarily in their employ, the Dutch gained a foothold in the new world in the Valley of the Hudson River. The erection of rude huts by Dutch traders on Manhattan Island followed in 1614, marking the beginning of what is now the largest city on the continent, while stations for trade with the natives were opened on the Delaware, the Hudson, and the Connecticut Rivers, and at intervening points. Albany, called Fort Orange by the Dutch, was one of the chief centers of this trade. Thus in the early years of the seventeenth century the Dutch, the English under their various leaders, and the French under Champlain, were dealing blows to the waning power of Spain in North America.

The Dutch
in the valley
of the
Hudson.

In 1621 Holland granted a charter to the Dutch West India Company, organized for purposes of trade, and authorized it to plant and to govern colonies. The Company appointed as the first governor of New Netherland, its colony along the Hudson, Peter Minuit, who purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians for twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. Under his despotic rule and that of his successors, Wouter Van Twiller, William

New
Netherland.

Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant, the people had but little share in the government of the colony.

Although situated in the richest and most important river valley on the Atlantic coast, New Netherland as a colony did not prosper.

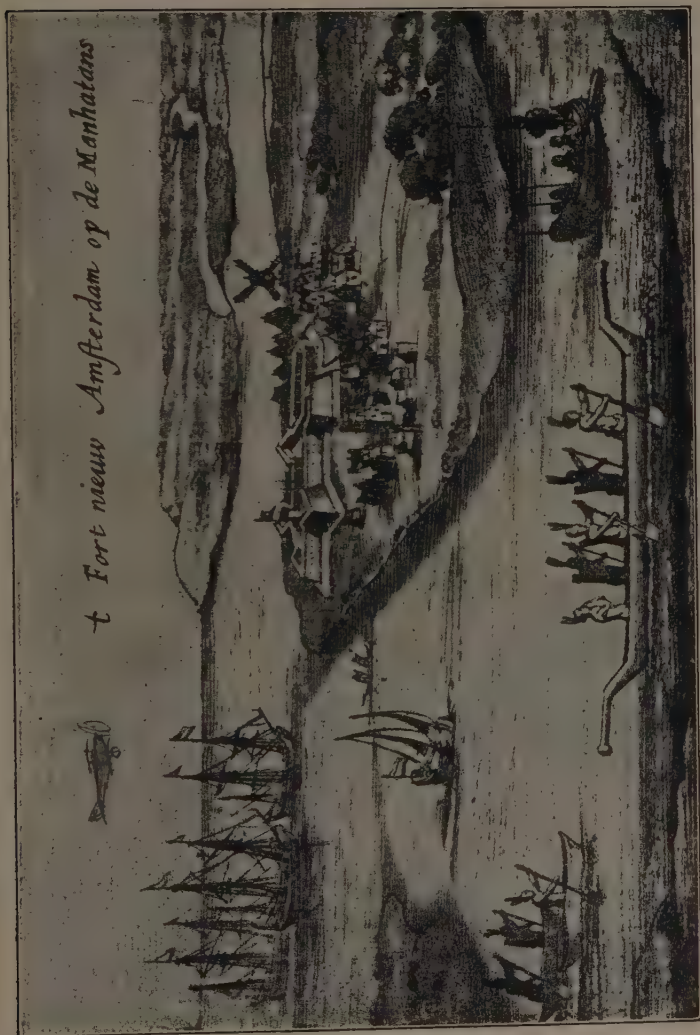
Slow progress. In fifty years it possessed hardly two thousand inhabitants, while New Amsterdam, its largest town, on the finest harbor of the continent, numbered only eight hundred. The



THE STADT HUYS, FIRST CITY HALL IN NEW YORK

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Dutch were not attempting to build up their frontier in the ordinary way. They were not seeking new outposts where their fellow-citizens might come and live, but were rather maintaining trading posts for purposes of commercial gain. A heterogeneous collection of people was called together by the trading facilities of the colony; in 1643 eighteen different languages were spoken among the four hundred inhabitants of New Amsterdam alone. A slight attempt at agriculture was made in the patroon system, whereby lords or "patroons" were granted thousands of acres along the Hudson in return for bringing to the country a certain number of settlers. These settlers were not allowed to own their own farms, but were obliged to pay rent to the lords over them, as well as to render to them other payments and services.



NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1630
From Hartgers's "Beschrijvingh van Virginia."

New Netherland might have been expected to enjoy religious liberty, which was the finest fruit of the long struggle of Holland with Spain for independence. As early as 1587, by declaring that they would "respect the difference in religious opinions," would leave all churches to be free and would "compell no man's conscience," the Estates General, the national legislature of Holland, made that country one of the first of modern states

to espouse the cause of religious toleration. On this side of the Atlantic, however, the despotic Governor Stuyvesant sought to prohibit all religious services in his colony save those of his own Dutch Reformed Church. The cosmopolitan gathering of colonists under him would not tolerate such procedure, and they insisted upon and secured a fair degree of religious toleration.

It has been said of the Dutch that they were "in perpetual alliance with ready money, be it

English, French, or Spanish"; in other words, that they went everywhere seeking trade. As soon as the English and the French established their rich and prosperous settlements in the West Indies, the ever-selling Dutch appeared in their midst to dispose of their wares. They took into their possession three small unoccupied islands on the edge of the Leeward Islands to serve as a center of their operations. Chief of these was St. Eustatius, a small island the one long street of which was filled with commodities from every quarter of the globe; and hither the neighboring English and French planters resorted for trade, in full confidence that they



PETER STUYVESANT

The Dutch
in the West
Indies.

Get the names of the Dutch

Religious liberty among the Dutch settlers.

DUTCH, SWEDISH, DANISH, AND RUSSIAN AMERICA

could devote their entire energies to the cultivation of sugar and tobacco and depend upon the Dutch to furnish them with needed supplies.

The little power of Sweden secured a foothold in America in what is now the state of Delaware along the bay and river of that name. In face of the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch claims ^{New Sweden.} to the same region, she founded there New Sweden in 1638, sent over colonists, and established a few settlements; but in fifteen years New Sweden had succeeded in attaining a population of less than one thousand inhabitants. Because of the distinguished part played by the Swedes on the Protestant side of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, there was little disposition on the part of the English and the Dutch to disturb the Swedish-American settlements until after the conclusion of that war in 1648.

In 1655, however, the Swedes were forced to yield their position, which they had held for seventeen years, to the superior power of the Dutch under Governor Stuyvestant, who coveted the trading facilities of the Delaware. The Swedes were ^{Dutch conquest of New Sweden.} allowed to retain their farms and possessions, but sovereignty passed to the Dutch, whose American possessions on the mainland now embraced the present states of Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and the western part of Connecticut. The very existence of New Netherland, well situated in itself and sandwiched in between the English on the north and on the south, was a menace to the English colonies, a challenge which it did not take England long to accept.

Not to be left out in the game of slicing up the new world, Denmark, then in union with Norway, took into her possession the uninhabited island of St. Thomas, the westernmost of the Leeward ^{Danish America.} Islands, only a few miles from Porto Rico. The island was small and its soil not very fertile, but it possessed an excellent harbor, in which fifty ships could easily ride at anchor. Later the Danes acquired the near-by islands of St. John and Santa Cruz, and to-day they still hold the three islands. Greenland, discovered by Leif Ericson as early as 1000 A.D., was at first a free country, then a province of Norway till 1814, since which time it has belonged to Denmark.

By the discoveries of Vitus Bering in the eighteenth century, Russia also came into possession of a vast holding in America, — Alaska, — but so worthless did this northern province seem during ^{Russian America.} the time when the nations were disputing one another's claims in the new world, that she had no difficulty in defending her possession.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What explorers visited the Hudson River before Henry Hudson? Describe early Dutch houses, dress, and customs. Explain the slow growth of New Netherland.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH AMERICA. INFLUENCE OF THE UPRISING OF THE ENGLISH PURITANS, 1642-1660

THE "thorough" policy of King Charles of England and his ministers Wentworth and Laud, which had been the means of sending thousands of their Puritan opponents to New England, finally threw England herself into civil war. Parliament met in 1640 for the first time in eleven years and soon got beyond the King's control. It brought about the arrest of Wentworth and Laud, released their many Puritan victims from prison, and put an end to the King's despotism, notably to his unlawful use of the taxing power. Despite this warning the King proved even more obstinate and arbitrary than in 1629, and hastened the gathering storm by entering the House of Commons in person and attempting the arrest of five of the members. He failed in his purpose, and his act served but to increase the bitterness against him. A struggle between the King and Parliament followed, and battles were fought between the Royalists or Cavaliers on the one side and the Parliamentarians or Roundheads on the other, which resulted in 1645 in a victory for the latter. A second civil war ending in the same way, Parliament instituted proceedings against the King, and in January 1649 he was condemned to death for his "tyrannical and arbitrary government."

The Puritan
Revolution
in England.

The extreme radicals then proclaimed a republic or commonwealth; and under the only written constitution that England has ever had, Cromwell, the hero of the war, was made protector for life, a King in all but name. His rule was vigorous and on the whole successful.

The Puritan
Common-
wealth under
Oliver
Cromwell.

Under the new order of things in England, the character of the emigration to America completely changed. Not only did the Puritans, relieved from persecution, stop seeking wilderness homes across the Atlantic, but many of their brethren, who had come to America under King Charles's arbitrary rule, returned to the mother country to take up the struggle against the royal power. Sir Harry Vane, governor of Massachusetts in 1636, fought under Cromwell as one of his chief lieutenants.

The change
in emigra-
tion to
America.

There was, on the other hand, an exodus of Royalists to Virginia. During the continuation of the Puritan supremacy, the population of Virginia increased from 16,000 to 33,000. Among the newcomers were the ancestors of George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, and of many of the other families later prominent in Virginian history.

Another influence in America of the uprising of the English Puritans was the check placed on the efforts of the King to destroy the liberties of New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, firm supporter of Charles I, loyal member of the Church of England, member of the Council for New England, and Proprietor of Maine, had ambitions before the Civil War in England to become proprietor of all New England. Plymouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven had no charters; only that of Massachusetts needed to be overthrown. Under the proposed régime, if it had been established, the popular liberties of the New Englanders would have been endangered. With the support of the King and of Laud, it seemed at one time as if Gorges's ambition would be realized, but the gathering clouds of civil war diverted the royal attention to affairs at home, and the attack on the liberties of New England came to nothing. In this security of her charter as a result of the Puritan uprising in England, Massachusetts was more than compensated for the cessation of emigration to her shores.

Puritan attacks on the colonies loyal to the King.

Virginia, Maryland, Bermuda, and Barbados, alone of the American colonies, were suspected of disloyalty to the rule of Cromwell, and were forced to surrender, though on fair and easy terms, to expeditions sent against them and to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth.

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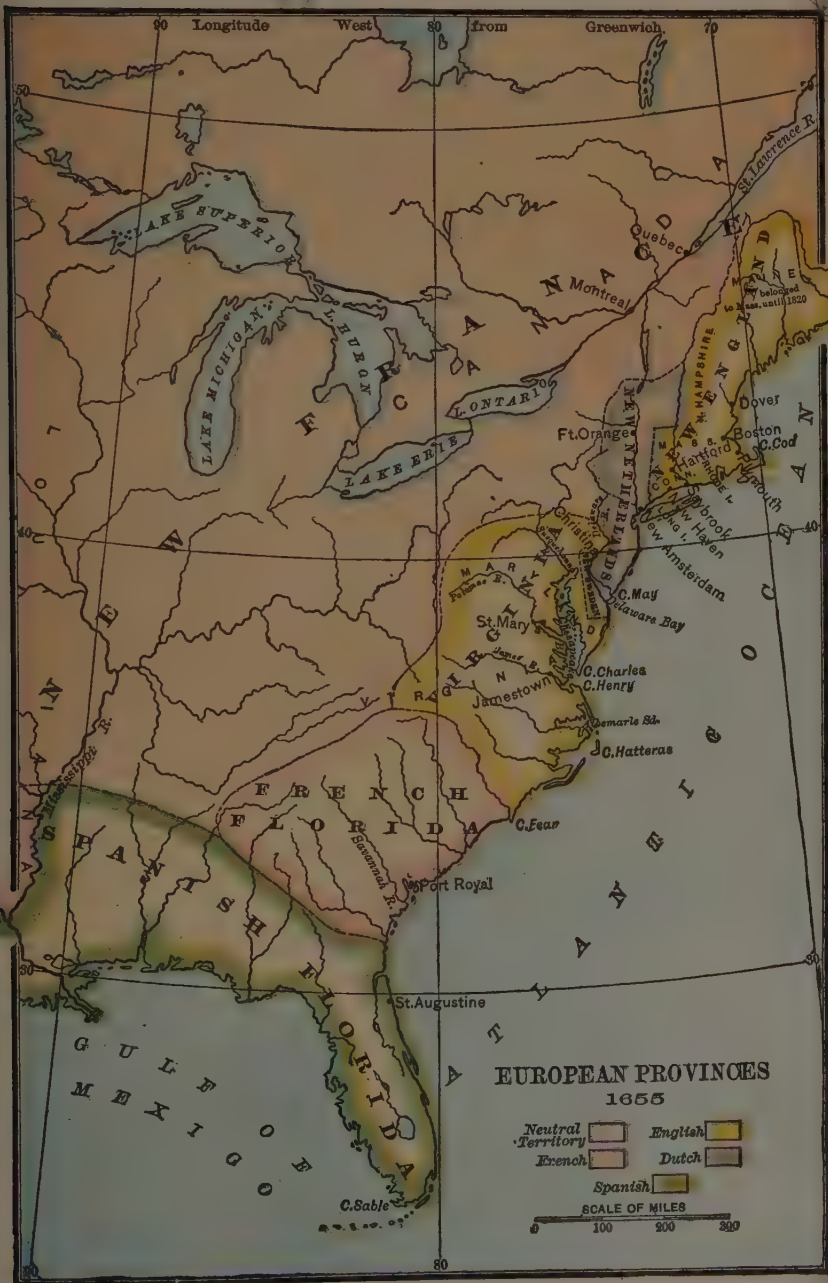
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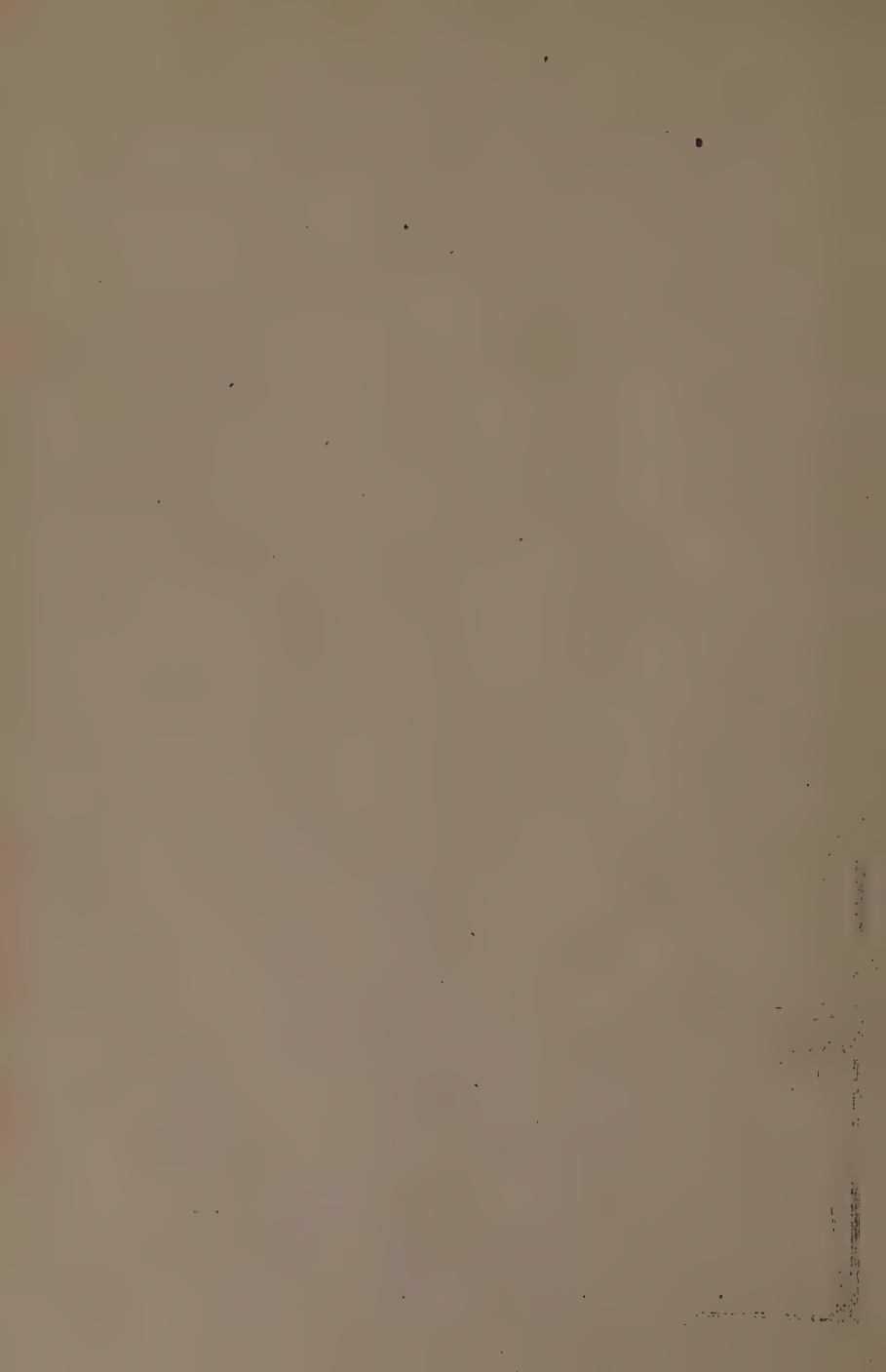
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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Carefully explain the movement of population between England and America, 1640-1660. What were the effects in America of the changes in the English Government, 1640-1660? Compare the influence of political conditions in England from 1620 to 1640 on Puritan settlement in America, with the influence of political conditions from 1640 to 1660 on this movement.





Carolina

CHAPTER VII

ENGLISH AMERICA UNDER THE LATER STUART KINGS, 1660-1688

FRICITION IN THE COLONIES

THE Puritan Republic in England did not long survive Cromwell's death in 1658, for in another year his incompetent son Richard, who had succeeded him, was forced to resign, and the experiment of the Commonwealth was at an end. In 1660, with the hearty approbation of the English people, the deposed Stuart line of kings was restored in the person of Charles II, son of the beheaded Charles I. Just what was restored and what was not restored in England at this time is an interesting question. In general it may be said that the new King lacked many of the powers enjoyed by his father before 1640, and that Parliament retained the advantage which it had won. The Commonwealth was thoroughly discredited, and Cromwell's body was dug up from its grave in Westminster Abbey to be hanged in chains at Tyburn, where felons were executed.

The restoration of the Stuart Kings to the English throne.

In America the first colony to feel the effects of the new order was the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which had enjoyed a respite from the interference of the Stuart Kings for twenty years. In the exercise of their liberty the men of Massachusetts had grown careless of the mother country's authority. They failed to apprehend the regicides, Whalley and Goffe, who as judges had voted in 1649 for the execution of Charles I and were known to be hiding in the colony; they refused to tolerate the Church of England in their midst, and for a long time refused a member of this church the right to vote. They persistently broke the English laws of trade, and in 1661 issued a Declaration of Rights against what they deemed to be the legislative encroachments of England. They even substituted for the English oath of allegiance a new oath of allegiance to Massachusetts alone.

The independent attitude of Massachusetts.

In resentment of this attitude the King in 1662 and 1663 granted liberal charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island respectively, that

he might foster formidable rivals to the Massachusetts colony. Connecticut was enlarged to include the colony of New Haven and was extended on the west to the South Sea. Both Connecticut and Rhode Island were constituted corporate colonies, with powers almost equal to those of independent republics. War with Holland interrupted the King's design of administering further punishment to Massachusetts, but in 1676 he sent an investigator, Edward Randolph, to Boston, whose reports were decidedly unfavorable to the colony. In 1679 she was deprived of New Hampshire, which was made a separate royal colony, and in 1684 her own charter was rescinded by an English court and she herself became a royal colony.

The punishment of Massachusetts.

**Royalists in Virginia.
Bacon's rebellion.**

Another influence of the English Restoration of 1660 was manifest in the increasing tyranny of Governor Berkeley in Virginia. Originally appointed as Governor by Charles I in 1642, temporarily deposed during the Commonwealth and reappointed by Charles II, this sturdy Royalist ruled Virginia till 1677. His methods were arbitrary in the extreme. He kept the same House of Burgesses in office for fifteen years without reëlection, and he gave assent to laws which it passed imposing heavy taxes. Because of his private interest in the fur trade he refused to call out the militia against the Indians, when the latter took the warpath in the remote western settlements. This was more than the settlers could endure. Their only recourse was to take up arms for their own protection without the sanction of the governor. This they did under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon and saved their settlements from extinction at the hands of the savages. In the struggle that followed between the governor and the followers of Bacon, Jamestown was burned, Bacon died, and in the end the governor was triumphant. Referring to the severe cruelty with which Berkeley put down the rebellion, King Charles declared, "That old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." The lesson of the rebellion was that the frontiersmen of America loved liberty and fair play, and that when denied these by their rulers they would take measures to secure them for themselves.

Education in royalist Virginia.

In many respects the Cavalier Englishmen of Virginia differed widely from the Puritan Englishmen of Massachusetts. A marked difference was evident in the slight regard in which popular education was held in the southern colony. As late as 1671 Governor Berkeley wrote, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; learning has brought disobedience and heresy

into the world and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keeps us from both."

NEW LAWS OF TRADE

With the Restoration, new leaders and new commercial interests came to the front in England. The old religious and political questions, which had caused so many to emigrate to America in the first part of the century, although not yet entirely settled, were in part succeeded by new issues, chief among which were matters of trade. In Cromwell's time an ordinance had been passed which attempted to reserve the colonial trade to England alone, but in spite of the law the Dutch ships did not cease their trade with the English colonies. Three new acts on the subject, known as Navigation Laws, were passed soon after 1660. According to these laws, the leading American products, such as tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo, rice, and furs, known as "enumerated commodities," might be sold only in England, and must be carried to this restricted market in ships owned by English subjects and manned by crews, three-fourths of whom were English subjects. The Americans were allowed to make their purchases, with few exceptions, only in England. It was the violation of these laws that constituted Massachusetts' chief offense, reported Edward Randolph, when he investigated the conduct of that colony for King Charles II.

New commercial interests in England.

In making the new trade regulations England acted upon the theory that the good of the colonies should be subordinate to the welfare of the mother country. It was the expectation that under them more gold would flow into England in payment for commodities than would go out, and that thereby England would be enriched. The harsh and inequitable working of these laws in the colonies, as time went on, ultimately called forth bitter resentment on the part of the Americans.

The underlying principles of the new laws of trade.

CONQUEST OF THE RIVAL TRADING POSTS OF THE DUTCH

In the enforcement of the laws of trade the English were obliged to be on the constant lookout against the Dutch smugglers. Planted down in the Valley of the Hudson, between New England and the southern colonies, the traders of New Netherland were in the very best of situations to assist the English colonists in evading the restrictions on their trade. Charles II determined on vigorous measures. Nine years after the Dutch had annexed the Swedes, an English fleet suddenly swooped down on New

The English conquest of New Netherland.

Amsterdam and annexed them all, Dutch and Swedes alike, to England, though Holland and England were nominally at peace. No resistance was offered and a majority of the settlers probably hailed with delight their deliverance from the tyranny of the Dutch trading company.

New Netherland now became New York, a proprietary colony, under the King's brother, the Duke of York, as proprietor. By his own edict the Duke made a code of laws for his colony known as the "Duke's Laws," and unwisely refrained for a long time from granting to his people a share in the government. Only in 1683 did he yield to the demand for a popular law-making body. Later, as James II, he repented of this action and ruthlessly deprived the legislature of the powers which he had bestowed.

The Duke of York as proprietor regranted what is now New Jersey to two of his friends at court, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who in turn granted to the people under them a legislative assembly and other privileges. Dissensions early disturbed the colony of New Jersey, and the two proprietors were glad to sell out their claims to a larger group of proprietors, prominent among whom was the great English Quaker, William Penn. It was while he was interested in New Jersey that Penn conceived of the "holy experiment" which was to result in Pennsylvania. Though New Jersey was soon largely settled by Quakers and under control of this peaceful sect, the colony had a history which was far from peaceful. Divided into East Jersey and West Jersey, it was harassed at times from one end to the other by quarrels over the respective rights of legislature, proprietor, and King.

THE NEW COLONY OF CAROLINA AND OTHER TRADING ENTERPRISES

The growing commercial spirit of England after 1660 lent itself to the founding of more colonies. Headed by Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the leading friends of colonial America, eight courtiers of the King were constituted joint proprietors of the new trading colony of Carolina, south of Virginia. Before the grant was made, settlements had already been started by Virginians on Albemarle Sound in 1653, as military outposts against the Spaniards in Florida. After the grant was made and colonists had come from England, recruits arrived from New England and even from Barbados. A settlement was made in 1670 in the southern part of the colony on the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, which despite some failures slowly developed into the town of

Charleston. Large numbers of Huguenots found a refuge in Carolina from persecutions in France, and Scotch Highlanders also sought the colony.

At the outset a serious mistake was made in the form of government granted to the Carolina settlers by the proprietors. Flying in the face of the excellent example set by Lord Baltimore in Maryland, who rendered his colony happy, prosperous, and attractive to settlers by granting to them a fair degree of self-government, the eight Carolina proprietors attempted to set up an unusual form of government after the manner of the feudal system of mediæval Europe. The constitution for this was called the Grand Model, and was drawn up for them by the philosopher, John Locke. By this plan, the lords, whom the proprietors had the right to create under the name of landgraves and caziques, were to own the land and govern it arbitrarily, without the coöperation of the common people. The latter, known as leetmen, deprived of any share in the government, were at the bottom of the social scale, attached to the soil and under the jurisdiction of a lord of the manor above them. It was provided that "all the children of leetmen shall be leetmen, and so to all generations." Instead of owning the land in their own name, the leetmen were to pay rent for it to their lords, and perform for the latter many menial duties and pay objectionable fees.

An unwise constitution.

The plan would not work. Hardy pioneers, subduing the wilderness by the sweat of the brow, are not men to brook interference from despotic superiors; they come to love their own way of doing things, and in democratic fashion to count themselves the equal of any people on earth. Just as the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, Roger Williams and his followers at Providence, Thomas Hooker and his band at Hartford, and John Davenport and his company at New Haven set up their own government in the wilderness without direction or authority from the King, and maintained their right to govern themselves, so the frontiersmen of Carolina exhibited the same desire for freedom; and they, too, gained their end. The proprietors abandoned the Grand Model, and granted their colonists a share in the government.

Reasons for its failure.

In 1729 the northern settlements around Albemarle Sound and those farther south around Charleston were separated into the two royal colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina.

The division of the colony.

In South Carolina a crop was found, which in that region was even more profitable than sugar and tobacco; this was rice, at first the native rice of the Indians and later a better variety introduced from Madagascar. Rice thrives best in low swamps and marshes, where malarial

fever is extremely destructive to human life, and blacks were found better fitted to combat this hardship than were the whites. Thus rice, as the leading product of the region, fastened negro slavery on the colony. The same conditions prevailed, though to a less degree, in the cultivation of indigo, the other leading product of South Carolina. Very soon the blacks outnumbered the whites; they were cheap, they could be worked hard as long as they lived, and when they died could easily be replaced by fresh importations from Africa. To South Carolina African slaves seemed an economic necessity.

Cooper formed another company, which received a grant of the Bahama Islands as a proprietary colony. Settlement began in the hope of making Carolina and the Bahamas joint centers of trade, but for a long time the Bahamas were little more than nests of pirates; progress was slow; and with a poor system of government, the colony was one of the most backward of the West Indies.

Under the same commercial stimulus, the Hudson Bay Company was organized in 1670 as a competitor of the French for the rich fur trade of the interior of the continent in the north. The King granted to his cousin, Prince Rupert, and to certain other noblemen, "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, countries, territories upon the coasts and confines" of the same. The Company did not organize a colony, but set up trading stations and turned the territory into a vast preserve for fur-bearing animals.

**The Hudson
Bay
Company.**

PENNSYLVANIA

In the foundation of the Quaker refuge of Pennsylvania, which was the most successful of the colonies set up in the later Stuart period, commercial considerations were secondary to the desire of a small religious sect in England to escape oppression. In the early part of the reign of Charles II, Parliament passed a series of laws to govern the religious situation, designed especially to secure uniformity of worship. These laws were but mildly enforced against other dissenters, but against the Quakers their enforcement was severe. The members of this new sect, founded shortly after 1640 by a young Englishman named George Fox, were thrown into prison by hundreds. They did not believe in an organized church, in bishops, church councils, an educated ministry, sermons and church music, but rather in the "inner light," which they believed came to all

**The new
sect of the
Quakers.**

men alike and rendered the ordinary church services superfluous. If the spirit spoke to all, all were equal; hence the members of the sect were ardent democrats, bitter opponents of the divine right of Kings. They would not take off their hats to persons in authority, lest by this act they might seem to recognize superiority in the one saluted, and their simple form of address, "thee" and "thou," was intended to indicate the same belief in the equality of all. They opposed war and taxes for its support. They were out of harmony, therefore, not only with established religion but with established civil government as well. The new religion took a strong hold on its followers, who became noted for the simplicity and the sweetness of their faith and for the enthusiasm and courage with which they endured persecution.

Rhode Island and Maryland, with their religious toleration, opened their doors to the persecuted sect, and New Jersey likewise furnished them a refuge. Then by the generosity of the young **William Penn.** English Quaker, William Penn, the colony of Penn- sylvania was staked out for them. The conversion of the rich and socially prominent Penn to Quakerism was an important event in the history of the new religion. He was persecuted like the rest of the sect, was expelled from Oxford University, and sent by his disgusted parents to the continent of Europe, that he might lose his serious purposes in the gaieties of life; but he stood firm. Charles II owed Penn's father £16,000 and after the latter's death he paid the debt to the son by a grant of forty thousand square miles of wilderness lands, which Penn was to rule as proprietor. Penn dedicated the new province of Pennsylvania, as the King called it, to religious liberty, and welcomed thither not only Quakers but men of every religious faith. He spent the larger part of his time in England, making but two visits to America, but as a colony planter there was no other colonial leader so great as he. His character enabled him to embrace an unpopular religion and at the same time retain the friendship of men of prominence who had no sympathy with his views. He arranged the government of Pennsylvania so that the people enjoyed large powers of self-government in their own legislature. The country was a poor man's paradise, a refuge for the oppressed of every nation. Land was fertile and cheap, wages high, the Indians friendly, and no portion of the English frontier on the mainland enjoyed a more rapid growth. In the first twenty years the new arrivals numbered over twenty thousand, principally Germans and Scotch-Irish, who were fleeing from religious and political persecution at home. The first settlement in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, "the city of brotherly love," founded in 1683, soon outstripped in population every other American town.

Of all the colony builders on the mainland William Penn was the most successful in dealing with the Indians. His treaty with the Delawares, made under an elm tree at a point now within Philadelphia itself, was not written out in words, nor was an oath taken when it was made; only mutual pledges of peace and friendship were exchanged to hold while the "creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure"; a treaty, it was said, "never sworn to and never broken." For many years a white man in Quaker garb was called by the Indians a "William Penn man" and was unmolested.

Because of the inability of the heirs of Lord Baltimore and William Penn to agree on the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania a long dispute arose which was settled, 1764-1767, when

The line of Mason and Dixon. two British surveyors,

Mason and Dixon, ran the present boundary line at $39^{\circ} 44'$.

This was the Mason and

Dixon line, later famous as the boundary between slavery and freedom in the eastern part of the United States.

That Pennsylvania might have an outlet of its own to the sea, the royal proprietor of New York ceded to William Penn the three lower

Delaware. counties on the Delaware River, which the Dutch had taken from the Swedes and the English from the Dutch.

This little colony, known as Delaware, differed, like New York and New Jersey, from the other mainland English colonies in having been first settled by other than English people, and differed from all the other mainland colonies in passing under the control of two other powers before it was made an English colony. Penn granted the Delaware region its own legislature, though he retained his rights as proprietor.



WILLIAM PENN

Thus Penn was at the same time Proprietor of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and at one time had a share in New Jersey.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND

The acquisition of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware from the Dutch, and the foundation of Carolina and Pennsylvania gave the English a continuous line of colonies from Maine to the Carolinas. Opportunity had come for attempting an ambitious plan, which was nothing more nor less than the cancellation of the charters of all the corporate and proprietary colonies and their union into a single grand colony of the royal type. Massachusetts, with Maine and also New Hampshire, served as the nucleus, and to these Plymouth and Rhode Island were first added, then Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The united colonies were called the Dominion of New England; and in practice the plan went no further, though it was originally intended to add Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahamas. Inasmuch as Bermuda, Virginia, and the various islands of the West Indies were already royal provinces, the way would have been prepared for one vast royal colony, had the Dominion of New England succeeded.

Union of the
colonies
attempted.

B. Edmund Andros, formerly governor of New York and New Jersey, arrived in Boston in 1686 as the first governor of the Dominion of New England, authorized to rule without the aid of the colonial legislatures and with none of the restrictions of a charter. The boundaries of the separate colonies were wiped out. That the rule of absolutism might be safeguarded, it was necessary for the King to gain possession of the existing charters. That of Connecticut was spirited away by zealous patriots from the very presence of the governor himself under cover of darkness, and hidden, so the story goes, in the hollow of a tree, afterwards known as the Charter Oak; and that of Rhode Island was also withheld from him.

Nature of
the union.

The rule of Andros was arbitrary in the extreme. He made laws and imposed taxes without the consent of the people, interfered with the decisions of the courts and with land titles, and forcibly introduced the Church of England into Puritan Boston.

The rule of
Governor
Andros.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

In what respects did English colonization after 1660 differ from that before 1660? Compare the experiences of the Quakers in the various colonies. What was commendable and what was not commendable in the scheme of the Dominion of New England? Criticize the Grand Model of the Carolina proprietors. Give reasons for the rapid progress of early Pennsylvania. Sum up the effects in America of the English Restoration of 1660.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH AMERICA. INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688

THE two later Stuarts, Charles II and James II, failed to learn a lesson from the fate of their father, Charles I, and were guilty of the same "tyrannical and arbitrary government." In religious affairs James II favored an even more extreme course than had his father before the Puritan Revolution, for while Charles I had merely wished to retain the Established Church and to force the Non-conformists to accept it, James cherished the hope of leading his Protestant subjects back to the religion of the Pope. James did not entirely dispense with Parliament, but claimed and exercised the right to suspend its laws temporarily in some cases and in other cases to dispense with them entirely. In America, as we have seen, he took the radical step of depriving the people of their legislatures; his measures against the charters of the New England colonies had their counterpart across the water in the taking away by Charles II of the charters of many English towns. His subjects at home, too, found James II, like his father, extremely cruel in the administration of justice.

The arbitrary rule of the later Stuart Kings in England.

Yielding at last to the wrath of his subjects, James in 1688 "withdrew himself out of the kingdom and thereby abdicated," thus escaping the dire fate of the tyrant of 1649. A refugee in France, under the protection and encouragement of the French government he was safe from the vengeance of the English; but he was never able to recover his lost throne, and Parliament was left free to regulate the powers of the English kingship as it saw fit. This it proceeded to do. The new King and Queen, William and Mary, who ascended the throne in 1689 at the invitation of the English Parliament, reigned with greatly reduced powers, while at the expense of the Crown the powers of Parliament were increased. The rights of the people were formulated by Parliament in the Bill of Rights, which included the following provisions: 1, laws should not be suspended by the monarch; 2, no taxation should be levied without the consent of the people assembled in Parliament; 3, the right of petition to the government was guaranteed to the people; 4, freedom of speech in Parliament was guaranteed; 5, excessive fines were not to be imposed; and 6,

The Bloodless Revolution.

Parliament should be assembled frequently. To this programme of popular rights the King and Queen were obliged to subscribe. The Stuart pretensions to royal supremacy over the will of the people as expressed in Parliament were at an end.

The immediate effect in America of the "Bloodless Revolution" in England was the dissolution of the Dominion of New England into the various colonies of which it was originally composed.

Dissolution of the Dominion of New England.

Governor Andros was arrested in 1689 by the people of Boston and sent back to England a prisoner, and Massachusetts, with Plymouth added, shortly afterwards received a new charter as a royal colony. The right of the people of Massachusetts, however, to elect their own governor, which they had enjoyed up to 1684, when they lost their charter as a corporate colony, was not regained. New Hampshire again became a separate royal colony. Rhode Island and Connecticut resumed their former charters as separate colonies, and the large powers which they had enjoyed under them were restored. In New York the government was usurped by a German merchant, Jacob Leisler, who held the reins of power for two years and was then hanged as a traitor. The colony regained the legislative assembly which James II had taken away, and both New York and New Jersey became royal colonies.

2. A second and far-reaching result of the "Glorious Revolution of 1688" was the precipitation of a long conflict with France, which, in

Conflict with France foreseen — in Europe.

turn, led the English government to make important changes in its methods of colonial administration. William of Orange, as a Protestant and as Stadtholder of Holland, had already waged a long conflict with the Roman Catholic King of France in behalf of the liberties of his native country, and after he ascended the throne of England, with the power of the English army and navy and national resources behind him, he naturally desired to continue the old struggle. The English people were not averse to such a programme for they resented the French espousal of the cause of James II. With such an attitude on the part of both the monarch and his people, the change in England from the days of Charles II and James II, who allowed themselves to make secret and unpatriotic promises to the King of France in return for millions of French money with which to meet the ordinary expenses of their administration, was striking indeed.

Not only in Europe, but also in America, the two rival powers were jealously watching one another. By 1689, when the new order of things was established in England, France had built up a long frontier in the interior of North America on the north

In America.

and west of the English settlements on the seaboard, which was far more of a menace to the English colonial empire than the Dutch colony of New Netherland had ever been.

In preparation for the impending conflict, which was destined to have important effects upon colonial affairs, the English began to set their American frontier in order. The Board of Trade and Plantations was appointed in London to secure stricter enforcement of the navigation laws, to investigate conditions in the colonies, and to make recommendations as to the colonial policy of the government. Before the first shots were fired against the French and after the wars started, new plans were seriously considered in London for the union of the colonies into one grand division somewhat after the model of the Dominion of New England, but without the arbitrary features of that discredited scheme. Under the stress of military necessity a congress assembled in New York in 1690 to make plans for common defense, although nothing definite was accomplished.

Changes in
colonial ad-
ministration.

3. As a third result of the Revolution of 1688, the supremacy of Parliament rather than of the King raised a constitutional question for the Americans. Did they owe the same allegiance to Parliament as they had to the Crown, by which their charters had been granted? If Parliament, with its increasing authority, had exercised its new powers in colonial affairs mildly, the question might never have become troublesome; but in time Parliament chose to exercise its powers in a way very offensive to the colonists, and they responded, as we shall see, by throwing off the yoke entirely.

The new
constitutional
question.

Before the changes flowing from the English Revolution of 1688 were fully developed, the last English colony was founded in Georgia in 1733. A charter was granted to a board of "trustees" or proprietors, the leader of whom was James Oglethorpe, an English philanthropist. The colony was designed to be a refuge for the King's poverty-stricken subjects, for the unfortunate debtors in the English prisons, for the many Protestant refugees from the German states who were within his realm, and for the distressed in general. Georgia was in reality a colony in trust for the poor, a genuine international charity. The first settlement was made at Savannah. Hither came John and Charles Wesley and George Whitfield, prominent Non-conformist English evangelists, who visited the American colonies in the interests of Christian missions, and here Whitfield founded an orphan asylum. Aside from philanthropic considerations, the mother country was glad to have the new outpost on the southern boundary of

The founding
of Georgia.

her American frontier, to serve as an additional barrier against the Spaniards in Florida. With the poverty-stricken refugees, Georgia was not at first prosperous, but Germans from Salzburg and Scotch Highlanders early furnished a more desirable class of settlers.

The "trustees" of Georgia at first followed in the steps of the proprietors of the Carolinas by denying self-government to their colonists, but they were soon forced to grant this right to the people. In 1752 the King took Georgia into his own hands and it became a royal colony. The proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania, who early granted self-government to their colonists, were the only proprietors on the mainland to retain their rights down to 1776. Oglethorpe lived to see the colony which he had founded, together with twelve other English colonies along the seaboard, throw off the yoke of the mother country in the War of Independence.

From 1733 back to the first permanent English settlement in 1607 there stretched a period of one hundred and twenty-five years, during which the English people had set up over twenty colonies in America. Few migrations in the world's history equal this one in interest, and none equal it in the immensity of the results accomplished. The line of the English colonies on the mainland extended from Maine to Florida. Denmark and Russia, as rival colonial powers, were negligible, Sweden and Holland had been eliminated, and Spain on the south was no longer formidable; only France on the north and west and beyond the Appalachians remained. A death struggle was impending, which would determine whether French or English civilization was to prevail on the continent of North America.

**Résumé of
English colo-
nization.**

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2. THE OVERTHROW OF ANDROS IN NEW ENGLAND. *Old South Leaflets*, II, 3, 4; OSGOOD, *Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, III, 415-443; FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 176-179.
3. OGLETHORPE IN GEORGIA. H. BRUCE, *General Oglethorpe*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What were the effects in America of the English Revolution of 1688? Give an account of Andros's career as colonial governor in America.

CHAPTER IX

FRENCH AMERICA

THE first Frenchmen to reach America were fishermen, who began to arrive off Newfoundland as early as 1504, but their huts along the coast could hardly be accounted settlements and they gave France no hold on the country.

French fishing settlements.

Permanent French settlements came slowly. Their first attempts to follow up the explorations of Verrazano and Cartier and secure a foothold on the mainland were failures. The site of Quebec, discovered by Cartier in 1535, was not permanently settled for seventy-three years, and during the long interval, while the French were expending their energies at home in religious wars, they failed in every attempt they made at frontier settlement. The French Protestants, or Huguenots, fleeing from religious persecutions, first sought a refuge in far-off Brazil in 1555, but were slaughtered by the Portuguese, who were there before them.

The failure of the first attempts of the French at colonization.

One Huguenot party, reaching the St. John's River in Florida in 1562, made its way north to Port Royal in what is now South Carolina, and failed utterly in its attempt to establish a settlement. Another expedition of the Huguenots arrived on the St. John's River two years later, just before the terrible Spaniards under Menendez arrived on the same peninsula. There are few sadder tales of frontier struggle than this meeting of the representatives of the two Christian powers of Spain and France in Florida. Pedro Menendez, following in the wake of De Leon, Narvaez, and De Soto, arrived in Florida in 1565 with over one thousand followers and founded St. Augustine, the first permanent white settlement within the present boundaries of the United States. The one hundred and forty-two Huguenots whom he found on the St. John's River, Menendez massacred in cold blood. Another detachment of two hundred, and still another of one hundred and fifty, he ambushed and murdered. Three years later the French took their revenge, when Dominique Gourges, at the head of a large force, arrived from France, fell upon

The French in Florida.

the Spaniards and put them all to the sword, except fifteen or twenty whom he hanged. As Menendez was said to have hanged some of his victims from the trees under the inscription, "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans," so Gorges nailed over his last victims the words, "Not as to Spaniards, but as to liars and murderers." The French made no more attempts to appropriate this part of the country, and Florida remained in the hands of the Spaniards.

At the close of their religious wars in 1598, the French again turned their attention to Canada, this time under the patronage of one of their greatest kings, Henry IV. In 1603 the King granted to Sieur de Monts permission to colonize the habitable American shores north of the latitude of Philadelphia, and in 1605 one of De Monts' companions established the first permanent French settlement on the continent at Port Royal in

Permanent
settlement of
French
Canada.



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

Nova Scotia. The greatest of French explorers and frontier builders, Samuel de Champlain, founded Quebec in 1608 and Montreal in 1611. As lieutenant-governor of New France, 1608-1635, Champlain was ruling in the north when the English Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth, the Puritans in Boston, and the Dutch on the Hudson.

The history of New France was far different from that of the English frontier to the south. There were no separate colonies in New France with independent

administration, and no popular law-making assemblies. The whole of the French territory was united in one colony under the unrestricted power of the French King. Under him, as "the true father and savior of Canada," who exercised "every care" regarding it, the governor assumed the reins of administration, assisted by other officials of royal appointment.

The pater-
nalism of
French rule.

The whole system was feudal, similar to that in New Netherland and to that attempted in Carolina. The common man could not own land, but for the privilege of occupying it must pay rent to his lord or seigneur, grind his corn at his lord's mill, bake his bread at his lord's oven, and pay fees for the privilege. He must do manual labor, too, for his lord during a certain

The common
people bound
down.

number of days in the year, and perform his part in the making and mending of the roads and bridges in the community.

Only Frenchmen and Roman Catholics were acceptable as settlers. The King took it upon himself to pay the traveling expenses of immigrants to his colony. When there were fewer women than men in the settlements, he sent out young women to be the settlers' wives, and as a wedding gift presented to each couple "an ox, a cow, a pair of swine, a pair of fowls, two barrels of salted meat, and eleven crowns in money."

After fifty years of effort Quebec numbered but six hundred people, and the whole of Canada in 1688 only eleven thousand.

Though they never succeeded in reconciling to themselves the Iroquois, whom Champlain had

estranged in 1609, the French by unusual kindness gained the friendship of most of the Indians with whom they came in contact and converted them to Christianity in large numbers. They lived with them, took on their manners and customs, intermarried with them, and in general brought themselves down to the Indian level. The English, who held themselves more aloof, were never so successful in winning the Indian heart.

Priests and lay missionaries accompanied the settlers to labor for the spread of Christianity among the natives, and Quebec, the capital of the country, was filled with churches and religious houses. To these, as to places of refuge, many a lady of France fled for religious solitude.

The very rivers, bays, and capes received religious names. New France represented the best spirit of the Roman Catholic Church. From 1611 to 1800 three hundred and twenty Frenchmen, members of the Society of Jesus, Jesuits as they were called, labored as missionaries in the wilds of America. This remarkable Roman Catholic order, which originated in Europe in 1534 with seven members, numbered thousands by the time of the French migrations to America. Its missionaries were scattered in China, Japan, Brazil, and Paraguay, and soon they reached the interior of North America, where they rendered important services in exploration as well as in Christianizing the natives. Finer devotion to Christian ideals was never exhibited, greater dangers and sufferings in the name of religion never encountered. The Jesuits traveled in birch-bark

Sparse
population.



THE FIRST BUILDING IN QUEBEC, 1608

Relations
with the
Indians.

The Jesuits
in America.

canoes; their food was the dried corn of the natives and smoked buffalo meat; and their home was the entire interior of the continent. They faced torture, hardship, and death, and almost every one of them died in active service.

In the wonderful twenty years of colony building from 1620 to 1640 the French as well as the English sent out scores of vessels to the islands of the West Indies. It was said that they arrived at St. Christopher or St. Kitts on the very day of the arrival of the English there in 1625; at any rate, both nations were early established in the island. By 1660 the French had succeeded in occupying thirteen small islands, including Guadaloupe, Martinique, Tortuga, and a part of the large island of Santo Domingo or Haiti, which they wrested from the Spaniards. By 1685 the total population of the French islands was twenty-seven thousand, including whites and blacks, which was more than twice as many as in the whole of Canada. The progress of Santo Domingo in the eighteenth century was so great that in 1771 its population reached 245,000 (220,000 slaves). Among the colonies of the English only Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were more populous.

The first attempt of the French to settle around the mouth of the Mississippi, in the country which they called Louisiana, was made after La Salle reached the Gulf of Mexico by his famous voyage down that river in 1682. There came hither, first, the colonizing expedition led by La Salle himself, which ended in shipwreck and disaster; second, an expedition under Iberville and Bienville in 1699, which effected, at the mouth of the Mississippi, a settlement later moved to the present site of Mobile; and third, an expedition which founded New Orleans in 1718; all to the great displeasure of the Spanish in Florida, who proceeded to establish Pensacola as a menace to the intruders. Louisiana, harassed by war and poverty, grew slowly.

Possessed of settlements on the St. Lawrence and on the Mississippi, which constituted entering wedges of a great inland and possibly continental empire, the part of the French was obviously to fill in the intervening country along the magnificent waterways that beckoned them on from the north and from the south, and to crowd the English on their east to the Atlantic.

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K. MUNROE, *Flamingo Feather*; CATHERWOOD, *Lady of Fort St. John*, and *Story of Tonty*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What are the effects of paternalism, such as that practiced by France in Canada? What were the effects of the soil and climate of Canada on French colonization? In what English colonies were the French Huguenots prominent? What two important Canadian cities did Champlain found? Describe the beginning of each. Compare events in New France with contemporary events in the English colonies.

CHAPTER X

BRITISH AND FRENCH AMERICA

PRELIMINARY STRUGGLES

To the English settlers along the shores of the Atlantic, the French in Nova Scotia, in the Valley of the St. Lawrence, and beyond the
Early attacks. Appalachians were interlopers on English domain. Preliminary struggles between the two powers began in the early days of settlement. In 1613 an expedition from Jamestown wiped out a French settlement on the Maine coast at Mount Desert Island; and a few years later, while England and France were at war in Europe, another English expedition forced Champlain to lower the standard of France at Quebec, only to see their defeated rival restored by the treaty of peace of 1632. From time to time other skirmishes took place between the outposts of New France and New England. Wars were carried on between the two powers for the possession of the West Indies, where almost every island changed hands once and some many times, and for the possession of the Indian fur trade on the shores of Hudson Bay. Hostility to France became a ruling passion in England after William of Orange ascended the throne in 1689, and the second "Hundred Years' War" between the two nations, which was to last with brief intervals of peace till 1815, opened at once.

King William's War, 1689-1697, Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, and King George's War, 1744-1748, each so called from the name of the
King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War. English monarch reigning at the time, were the American phases of contemporary English-French struggles in Europe, arising respectively out of the disputes over the aid of the French to James II, over the succession to the Spanish throne, and over the succession to the throne of Austria.

In the course of Queen Anne's War the Act of Union was passed by
Union of England and Scotland. the English Parliament in 1707, uniting Scotland and England into one kingdom, with one King and one Parliament, so that from that date the government of the mother country should be spoken of as British rather than as English.

Foreseeing the inevitable clash, the English in 1684 had taken the

precaution of cementing their union with the Iroquois Indians by a formal alliance, which made the Iroquois British subjects and their territory British territory. The French, on their part, in return for the assistance which Champlain had given to the Algonquins in the historic fight of the latter with the

The part of
the Indians
in the wars.

Iroquois in 1609, demanded and secured the aid of these against the British; and this aid they used most ruthlessly, as Indian massacre after Indian massacre of the English colonists along the lone frontier abundantly testifies. In the middle of the winter of 1690, during King William's War, the village of Schenectady, New York, was the scene of a massacre of sixty of its inhabitants at the hands of the French and Indians, who had



NORTH AMERICA IN 1713

come all the way from Canada on their murderous mission. They fell upon their victims in the night, and before morning every house was in ashes; only a few survivors escaped in the darkness over the paths of snow to Albany. A similar fate befell Portland and York in Maine, Salmon Falls and Durham in New Hampshire, and Groton, Deerfield, and Haverhill in Massachusetts. The latter town suffered on two different occasions.

By the treaty which closed King William's War in 1697, there were no exchanges of territory, but by that of Utrecht in 1713, at the close of Queen Anne's War, although France succeeded in maintaining her hold on Canada, she was obliged to give

Exchanges of
territory.

up to the British the two provinces of Acadia and Newfoundland, which guarded the entrance to Canada on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to recognize the British claims to the Hudson Bay country in the interior. Disagreement arose over the limits of Acadia almost immediately after the signing of the treaty. The British claimed that Acadia included Cape Breton Island, all of what is now Nova Scotia, all of what is now New Brunswick, and all of Maine as far as the Kennebec, while the French insisted that Acadia was confined to the present limits of Nova Scotia. France proceeded to enforce her claims by the erection of a fortress at Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, at the southern entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There were two miles of stone masonry and four hundred cannon in the fort. Manifestly France was determined to stand guard over this entrance to her Canadian dominions.

This formidable fortress was taken during King George's War by the New England militia under Colonel Pepperrell of Maine, acting in conjunction with a strong British fleet, taken, however, only to be given back in the treaty of peace in 1748, when the British judged the concession to be necessary in order to recover certain posts which had been captured from them by the French in India. The New Englanders never quite forgave the mother country for the slight.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The various conflicts between the French and the British down to 1750 were, so far as America was concerned, mere border warfare, in which little was accomplished toward deciding the mastery of the continent. The decisive blows were struck in the Seven Years' War or the French and Indian War, 1756-1763. Whereas the former wars were mainly reflections of European differences, this final conflict arose primarily out of British colonial affairs in India and America, and was waged on a world-wide scale up to that time unknown. As a result of a new wave of immigration, which had set in about 1718, the British had laid down a new or second frontier in America several hundred miles from the coast in the "back country" of the Shenandoah Valley, stretching southward from Pennsylvania. By the middle of the eighteenth century hundreds of thousands of settlers were in this newer West. Thus the British of the seaboard came to have a frontier of their own, and some were beginning to think of planting still a third frontier beyond the mountains in what is now Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Advance surveying parties reached these farthest regions in 1750. Unlike their brethren

The fate of
Louisburg.

The struggle
for the in-
terior be-
yond the Ap-
palachians.

in the islands of the West Indies, the colonists on the mainland had plenty of room on the west in which to expand, could they but gain a firm hold on that territory.

The French in Canada, on the Mississippi, and on the Gulf of Mexico, laid claim to the same rich territory in the interior of the continent, particularly to the Ohio Valley, which was the immediate bone of contention. One French party, which passed down the Ohio in 1749, nailing up signboards and burying lead plates to proclaim the land as belonging to the King of France, was only one year ahead of the English surveyors. Further to enforce their claims, in defiance of the warning of the governor of Virginia delivered to them by his representative, young George Washington, the French in 1753 erected a new line of three forts south from Lake Erie in western Pennsylvania; and the next year, after first driving away the British, whom they found at the head of the Ohio River, already at that time recognized as the "gateway to the West," they erected there Fort Duquesne. Upon the arrival of British militia from Virginia, a skirmish took place between the rival forces, in which George Washington is said to have ordered the first shot fired; and later in the same year of 1754, at a stockade called Fort Necessity, Washington was compelled to surrender the post though not his men. The Seven Years' War had begun, although as yet no formal declaration of hostilities had been made.

French expansion into the same territory.

In 1754, at the call of the King, who was keenly alive to the difficulties of waging the contest with the French while his frontier remained divided into a number of separate colonial governments, the British colonies on the mainland sent delegates to Albany, New York, to devise if possible some plan of union in face of the common danger. The object was to repeat under different circumstances and on a larger scale, but from the same motives of military necessity, the union effected by four of the New England colonies in the seventeenth century. The scheme agreed upon in the congress was known as the Albany Plan of Union and was proposed by Benjamin Franklin. It provided, first, for an annual council, to be composed of delegates from all the colonies, with power to pass laws on such important matters as colonial taxation, public lands, and Indian and military affairs; and, second, for a president general, to be appointed by the King, and to possess the

Attempt of the British to unite their colonies.



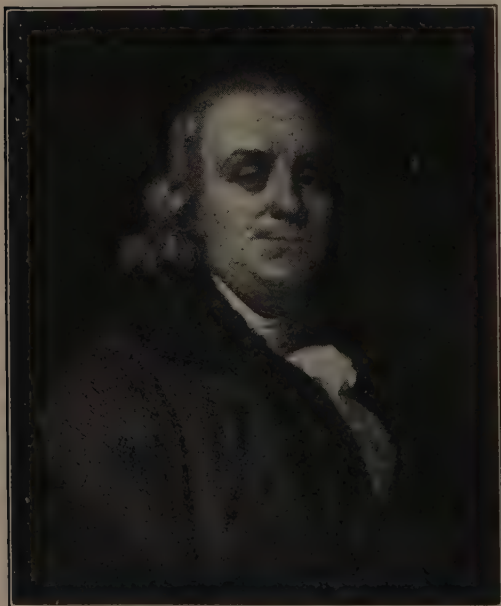
FRANKLIN'S DEVICE TO ENCOURAGE UNION, FIRST USED IN THE *Pennsylvania Gazette*

power to veto the acts of the council and to appoint important colonial officials. The mutual jealousies of the colonies, however, would not tolerate the surrender of such great powers to a new central government, and the plan was rejected.

The next year, 1755, in military preparation for the coming struggle, the British took two important steps. In an attempt to make sure of their hold on the disputed territory in the West, they returned to the vicinity of Fort Duquesne with two regiments of regulars from Great Britain and a body of Virginia militia.

Braddock's
defeat.

General Braddock was in command, and George Washington was in the little army in what was now his fourth trip over the mountains to the west. Never had such a fine military display been seen in America; but Braddock underestimated the prowess of his French and Indian opponents, and when Washington advised him to instruct his men to fight after the manner of the Indians, each man for himself, from behind rocks and trees, he spurned the counsel. He paid dearly for the refusal, and that speedily, when, at his command, most of the regulars



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

fought in close European formation, in which seven hundred of them were slain, including Braddock himself and a large proportion of his officers. Only Washington's resourcefulness averted the total destruction of the British. The loss of the French and the Indians reached barely half a hundred.

At the same time the British were endeavoring to secure their hold on the strategic country of Nova Scotia or Acadia, where the French inhabitants, almost a half a century after their conquest, still refused to recognize the British as their rulers. A band of soldiers was des-

patched to enforce the order that the Nova Scotians take the oath of allegiance or leave the country. Overwhelming military force had no terrors for the simple Acadians, who to the number of almost seven thousand submitted to deportation rather than swear themselves subjects of King George, and they were scattered throughout the British possessions from Maine to the far south.

The depor-
tation of the
French from
Acadia.

Geographically the British frontier on the mainland had a decided advantage in the coming struggle, in its compact and unbroken line of settlements which had not yet dissipated their strength to any great extent by expansion beyond the Appalachians into the interior. The scattered population of the French, on the other hand, stretched all the way from Canada to Louisiana. Moreover, the St. Lawrence River in the north, frozen over during a large part of the year, and the Mississippi, with its hidden sand bars, rendered access to the interior of the French possessions difficult. In the West Indies geographical advantages were about even.

A view of the
belligerents.
Geographical
factors.

In total population on the mainland and in the islands the advantage was overwhelmingly with the British, whose 2,000,000 inhabitants outnumbered the French by at least fifteen to one.

Population.

The British colonists, devoted to political discussion, trial by jury, freedom of the press, and popular lawmaking, possessed a self-reliance utterly foreign to the dependent French subjects under an absolute monarchy, who knew nothing of Anglo-Saxon liberty; but the uniformity of plan and counsel of the French, under one supreme command, had advantages over the mutual dissensions and bickerings of their rivals.

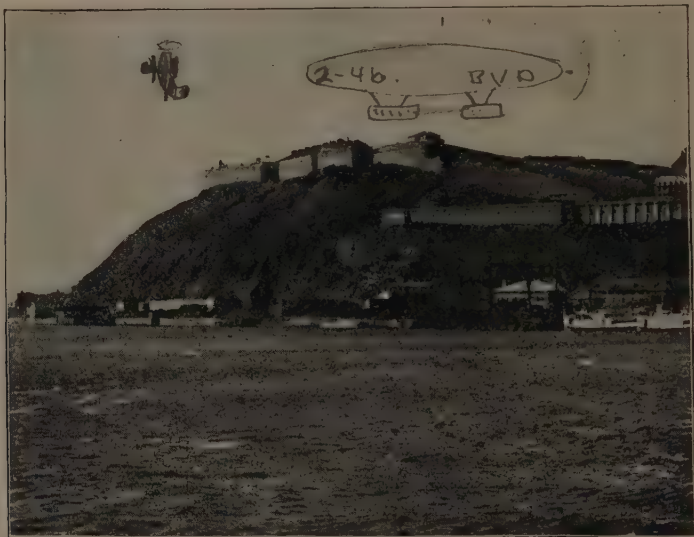
Self-govern-
ment *versus*
paternalism.

After the war had formally begun in 1756, the fighting at first centered at the outposts lying between the French and the British settlements, possession of which would give either party opportunity to invade the territory of the other. In the critical year of 1758 the first strategic point was taken by the British, when for a second time they captured the fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. This victory enabled them the better to send an expedition up the St. Lawrence against Quebec, while at the same time it deprived the French of a base of operations from which to send an expedition by sea against Boston or New York. The next month, by the capture of Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, where the lake empties into the St. Lawrence, the British gained possession of that inland water route approaching Quebec on the west, and before the end of the year they won possession of the "gateway to the west" by the capture of Fort Duquesne. Here the cluster of

The first
important
events of the
war.

cabins was named Pittsburg in honor of the British Secretary of State, William Pitt.

"We are forced to ask every morning what new victory there is, for fear of missing one," wrote Horace Walpole in England at the time. A tide of victory had set in for the British that was destined to sweep on to the utter routing of the French; and the minister at the head of affairs, who was responsible for the success, was William Pitt. Frederick the Great of Prussia said of him: "England has at last brought forth a man." Pitt was arrogant and con-



QUEBEC

ceited, but he proved to be the man of the hour for his country, a patriotic, honest, and creative statesman, possessed of wonderful judgment and ability to inspire energy and enthusiasm in the nation. By a treaty which he made, the British paid to the Prussians almost three and a half million dollars, in order, as Pitt said, to defeat France in Germany. Pitt also was behind Robert Clive, the young British general who was winning India from the French.

In 1759 the British got a firmer hold on the inland water route west of Quebec by the capture of Niagara, and later in the same year they secured the approaches to Quebec from the south by the reduction of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain.

The siege of Quebec itself lasted three months. Situated at the top of a cliff two hundred feet above the water, at the juncture of the St. Charles River with the St. Lawrence, the stronghold seemed impregnable, but it was taken at last by the strategy of the young British commander, General Wolfe.

The capture
of Quebec,
1759.

By a clever move the British scaled the heights in the dead of night and in the early morning drew up on the Plains of Abraham, above the city, to the utter surprise of the French garrison. In the fighting which ensued both Wolfe and the defending commander, Montcalm, were killed. When informed that the enemy were in flight, the wounded Wolfe gave an order and turned upon his side, murmuring, "Now, God be praised, I shall die in peace!" The defeated Montcalm said to the surgeon, who informed him that his wound was mortal, "So much the better, I shall not live to see Quebec surrendered."

France lost every one of her West Indian possessions in the course of the war, and Spain, which had joined France because of complications of the war in Europe, lost Havana in Cuba to a force of two thousand British militia from the mainland. Only illness among the British troops prevented them from passing on to essay the conquest of the French on the Mississippi. In the Far East Great Britain captured the Spanish Philippine Islands and the French possessions in India.



NORTH AMERICA IN 1763

The British
victory complete.

By the terms of the treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the war, the British brought their empire in America to its largest extent. They gained the disputed territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, where the claims of the French ceased forever, and the whole of Canada, with the exception of two small islands off the fishing banks of Newfoundland, which the French had held since the peace of Utrecht and were now allowed to continue to hold but never to fortify. In the West Indies, where the conquests of the British were complete, the French were allowed to regain the three important sugar islands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia, probably because the jealous sugar planters of the British islands were opposed to admitting their old rivals into the advantages of the British colonial system. There were those who urged that Canada be given back to the French, on the ground that in hostile French hands that province would serve to render the seaboard colonies of the British farther south more loyal to the mother country, in proportion as it rendered the protection of the British army and navy more necessary. Even at this time it would seem that the loyalty of some of the British colonies was suspected. The statesmen of Great Britain were swayed by the dream of a mighty colonial empire and they decided to keep Canada, relying on their ability to hold the colonies farther south by other means. By a treaty between Spain and Great Britain, the former power was allowed to recover Cuba and the Philippines, but was deprived of Florida, which went to Great Britain, while Spain received from France, in still a third treaty, the claims of the latter power to the interior of North America west of the Mississippi, including New Orleans. French influence with the nations of India was lost to the British.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

In what sense was the British defeat of the French a critical event in the history of North America? Compare the Albany plan of union with the previous plans of colonial union. What was the influence of the British-French wars on the American Revolution? What was the strategic importance of the forts at Louisburg and at Fort Duquesne? Why did the British deport the Acadians? Did the French or the British have the better claim to the Ohio Valley? On what did the Spaniards, the English, the French, and the Dutch, base their respective claims to North America? State the possessions of the different nations in America after 1763. Describe the political organization and government of New France, and show wherein New France resembled, and wherein it differed politically from, the British colonies.

E.

PART III

THE REVOLT OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

CHAPTER XI

BRITISH AMERICA IN 1763

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

ALTHOUGH in 1763 there were, roughly speaking, three different lines of British settlements stretching parallel to the Atlantic Coast, all in different stages of development; first, that on the seaboard, second, that in the Shenandoah Valley, and third, that of which barely a beginning had been made west of the Appalachians; not one of these was clearly beyond the frontier stage. Even the seaboard colonies were far removed from settled conditions and far behind the mother country in material progress. Population was sparse. The only towns having 10,000 inhabitants or over were Philadelphia with 18,000, and New York and Boston with 15,000 each; Charleston, South Carolina, the next largest, numbered 9000. With few roads and bridges, communication between the various sections was difficult. People staid at home perforce. Upset vehicles, stage coaches and horses stuck in the mud, overturned ferry boats, and uncomfortable inns on the way were generally sufficient obstacles to all but the most necessary travel.

The sparse-
ness of popu-
lation.

The most populous colonies were Virginia with 345,000 people, Massachusetts with 235,000, Pennsylvania with 220,000, and Jamaica with 184,000. From 1700, when the number of inhabitants on the mainland was about 250,000, population there had almost doubled every twenty years, reaching approximately 500,000 in 1720, 1,000,000 in 1740, and 2,000,000 in 1760.

Almost every one was an immigrant or the son or grandson of an immigrant. America was holding out arms of welcome to all who would come to her shores and lend a hand in the work of reducing the continent to civilization. Said Benjamin Franklin in London to prospective emigrants to his native land: "Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other

quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe indeed it has value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than to that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, What is he? but What can he do? If he has any useful art, he is welcome; if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by



COLONIAL STAGE

all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live on the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. . . . Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, insomuch that the propriety of an hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young laboring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves. A little money, saved out of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they

are assisted by the good will of their neighbors, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labor low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born."

Declaring that the people of the new continent sprang from a "promiscuous breed," Crèvecoeur, himself a French immigrant, wrote "What is an American?" as follows in the last half of the eighteenth century: "What then is an American, this new Man? He is neither an European, nor the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family, whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received into the broad lap of our great 'alma mater.' Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry, which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered over all Europe. Here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared. . . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. . . . This is an American."

Although comparatively few immigrants came to her from England after the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, New England throughout the colonial period remained almost purely English; and the same race predominated in the eastern or seaboard sections of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, while in Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, the English were mingled with the Dutch, Swedes, Germans, Scotch-Irish, and other races. The so-called Pennsylvania Dutch were properly not Dutch at all, but Germans who found a refuge in Eastern Pennsylvania from the devastation of wars and tyranny in their own states at home. The Scotch-Irish were people of Scotch descent, from the north of Ireland, mainly

Ulster, who left their homes to escape industrial and religious oppression. They came by thousands; in some years ten thousand arrived in Pennsylvania alone. America probably gained half a million inhabitants by this great migration. A few went into New Hampshire, but the greater part of them poured into the interior regions of Pennsylvania and south from there along the foot-hills of the Appalachians, where they were the predominant race, although there were also found here many French Huguenots, German Quakers or Mennonites, Scotch Highlanders, Swiss, Welsh, and Irish. Nearly all of these immigrants were Protestants, poor in this world's goods, fleeing the wars, persecutions, and untoward conditions of Europe.

B. J. L.

OCCUPATIONS

On the seaboard and in the new West agriculture was well-nigh universal. The New Englander on his barren and rocky farm raised the simple necessities of life but could boast of no great staple New England crop. The planters of the southern colonies, on the other hand, and those in the West Indies, were blessed with the valuable staple crops of tobacco, sugar, rice, and indigo, which they raised largely to the exclusion of other products. The islands indeed produced sugar so extensively that some of them were habitually spoken of as the sugar islands,—the British sugar islands and the French sugar islands.

**Agriculture
universal.**

New England was a land of villages and small farms. There the one long village street was usually found, bordered by farmhouses, with the farms stretching back in either direction; the ever-present meetinghouse, where the church-going habits of the people encouraged sociability as well as piety; the town hall, with its frequent public discussion, the village store, the inn, the schoolhouse, and frequently the blockhouse for refuge in case of attack by the Indians.

**The country
villages of
New Eng-
land.**

The farm buildings themselves on any particular farm were usually grouped closely together; in most cases indeed they were actually connected. A settler on a New England farm was not alone an agriculturist, but by the very necessities of his frontier life he was trapper, hunter, lumberman, and Indian fighter as well, and the manufacturer of his own farming and household utensils and furnishings.

In the country south of the Potomac, on the other hand, where the plantation, or very large farm, was the unit of society and towns and villages were little known, society lacked the sociability of the New England village church, town hall, and store. Public inns for the entertainment of strangers were rare. Instead,

**The southern
plantation.**

hospitality was dispensed in the plantation mansions themselves with the grace and charm of manner for which the Southerners became famous. The plantation was more or less a self-supporting unit. Scattered over its large area were the plantation mansion, the slave quarters, the school, the blacksmith shop, the carpenter shop, the carriage and wagon sheds, the stables, and various other buildings. Near-by was usually to be seen the stream of water, where, at his own wharf, the planter loaded his products for shipment and unloaded consignments of needed supplies from New England and from Europe.

Between this aristocratic organization of society and the simple village life of New England the contrast was marked. As both sugar and tobacco culture rapidly exhausted the soil, and as new lands were cheap and easy to obtain, the typical southern plantation was many times larger than the New England farm, that the fields might lie fallow at intervals for recuperation. The labor of black slaves was made use of in all sections, but mainly in the South, where the whites were unable to endure the strain of manual labor in the intense heat. Moreover, in the less fertile North, where farming was more intensive and more skilled labor was required than in the South, black labor was not generally profitable.

In the middle colonies — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — agriculture partook more of the character of that in New England than of that of the southern colonies. The farms of these colonies, with the exception of the patroon estates of New York, were smaller than the southern plantations, and their crops were varied as in New England, though their richer soil made them a more promising agricultural region than rocky New England.

Making a clearing in the woods presented much the same problem throughout America, whether on the seaboard, in the Shenandoah Valley, or west of the Appalachians. The Marquis de Chastellux, an officer of the French army, who traveled through the country between 1780 and 1790, has described the settlement of the frontier as follows: "While I was meditating on the great process of nature, which employs fifty thousand years in rendering the earth habitable, a new spectacle, well calculated as a contrast to those which I had been contemplating, fixed my attention, and excited my curiosity; this was the work of a single man, who in the space of a single year had cut down several harpents of wood, and built himself a house in the middle of a pretty extensive territory he had already cleared. I saw for the first time, what I have

The two systems of agriculture compared.

Agriculture in the middle colonies.

Making a farm in the wilderness.

since observed a hundred times; for, in fact, whatever mountains I have climbed, whatever forests I have traversed, whatever by-paths I have followed, I have never traveled three miles without meeting a new settlement, either beginning to take form or already in cultivation.

"The following is the manner of proceeding in these improvements, or new settlements. Any man who is able to procure a capital of five or six hundred livres in our money, or about twenty-five pound sterling, and who has strength and inclination to go to work, may go into the woods and purchase a portion of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres of land, which seldom costs him more than a dollar or four shillings and sixpence an acre, a small part of which only he pays in ready money. There he conducts a cow, some pigs, or a sow, and two indifferent horses which do not cost him more than four guineas each. To these precautions he adds that of having a provision of flour and cider. Provided with this first capital, he begins by felling all the smaller trees, and some strong branches of the large ones; these he makes use of as fences to the first field he wishes to clear; he next boldly attacks those immense oaks, or pines, which one would take for the ancient lords of the territory he is usurping; he strips them of their bark, or lays them open all around with his axe. These trees, mortally wounded, are the next spring robbed of their honors; their leaves no longer spring, their branches fall, and the trunk becomes a hideous skeleton. This trunk still seems to brave the efforts of the new colonist; but where there are the smallest chinks or crevices, it is surrounded by fire, and the flames consume what the iron was unable to destroy. But it is enough for the small trees to be felled, and the great ones to lose their sap. This object completed, the ground is cleared; the air and sun begin to operate on that earth which is wholly formed of rotten vegetables, and teems with the latent principles of production.

"The grass grows very rapidly; there is pasturage for the cattle the very first year; after which they are left to increase, or fresh ones are bought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increase of twenty or thirty fold. The next year the same course is repeated; when at the end of two years, the planter has wherewithal to subsist, and even to send some articles to the market; at the end of four or five years, he completes the payment of his land, and finds himself a comfortable planter. Then his dwelling, which at first was no better than a large hut formed by a square of the trunks of trees, placed upon one another, with the intervals filled by mud, changes into a handsome wooden house, where he contrives more convenient and certainly much cleaner compartments than those in

the greatest part of our small towns. This is the work of three weeks or a month; his first habitation that of eight and forty hours.

"I shall be asked, perhaps, how one man, or one family can be so quickly lodged? I answer that in America a man is never alone, never

an isolated being. The neighbors, for they are everywhere to be found, make it a point of hospitality to aid the new farmer. A cask of cider drunk in common, and with gaiety, or a gallon of rum, are the recompense for these services. Such are the means by which North America, which one hundred years



(a)

ago was nothing but a vast forest, is peopled with three millions of inhabitants."

The first industry in North America in point of time, extensively engaged in by the whites before the colonies were established and never discontinued, was

Fishing. fishing. In some way of

which there is no record, venturesome fishermen reached these waters immediately after the first discoveries of Columbus, and carried to the countries of western Europe announcement of the swarming shoals of fish off the shores of New-



(b)

foundland. To the men and women of Europe in that day, who piously followed the observances of the church concerning the abstinence from meat on the numerous fast days, the news was most welcome. The new industry, small at first, while Spain was in control of the seas and the seafarers of other nations were constantly liable to attack, was rapidly extended when England became mistress of the seas. It is recorded that there were three hundred fishing vessels of all nations on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland in 1586, and one

thousand thirty years later; forty or fifty English vessels annually made the journey thither before 1588, but by 1605, two years before the founding of Jamestown, and fifteen before that of Plymouth, at least two hundred and fifty English vessels reached the banks annually. As the neighboring New England frontier was occupied, the number of fishing vessels in its waters and off Newfoundland rapidly increased, for the New Englanders found fishing one of their most profitable occupations. A nearer market for their fish than Europe was gradually developed in the West Indies.



(c)

Trade with the Indians was inaugurated by the early fishermen and explorers, who observed along the shore where they landed to dry their fish or to explore the coast, that the natives were ready to exchange the skins of the fur-bearing animals

The Indian trade.

for trinkets. On his first voyage Columbus gave small bells and glass beads to the Indians in trade, and after him almost every explorer was a trader also, Verrazano, La Salle, Champlain, and John Smith among the number. The last named, after his voyage along the New England coast in 1614, carried to England



(d)

GROWTH OF A PIONEER HOME

40,000 dried fish, 11,000 beaver skins, and 200 skins of other animals; and he is authority for the statement that in six years, 1616-1622, England received from her outposts in America 20,000 beaver skins. In one period of five years soon after the founding of the settlement, Plymouth sent 12,500 pounds of furs to the mother country, and in the first part of the eighteenth century, Georgia shipped on the average 200,000 deer skins annually.

The moral character of the white traders was often deplorable;

they cheated and debauched the Indians; yet they were always in the vanguard of civilization as it pushed its way westward, for it was on the farthest edge of the frontier that the Indian trade most flourished. The Indian loved the white man's woolen blanket, which he quickly learned to use in place of the more clumsy animal skins, and in his simplicity he loved the trinkets that were brought to him; but more than these, he loved the white man's rum, and would never do without it as long as he had a fur or anything else which the white man would take in trade. He preferred British goods to those of the French because of their lower price and superior quality, and this preference for the English trade served to perpetuate the prejudice of the Iroquois against the French and in favor of the English.

The profitable British trade never languished throughout the colonial period. When the British asserted that they had gone into the French and Indian War for the benefit of their colonists, Benjamin Franklin replied that in his opinion that war had been waged by the British for the sure possession of the "purely English" fur trade in the interior west of the mountains, which constituted the third frontier of the British and was the bone of contention in that war.

Another American industry in the colonial period was shipbuilding, centered mainly in New England, where the pine forests furnished excellent masts for ships. Here the royal navy of England looked for timber for many of its vessels. A traveler who visited New England in 1759 stated that from the small towns along a single river in New Hampshire two hundred vessels were launched annually. Many of these were owned and manned, as well as built, in New England; and sailing from Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and the other seaboard towns, they engaged in an extensive carrying trade on the ocean, not only monopolizing the coastwise trade on the western shores of the Atlantic but even securing a part of that across the seas.

An interesting trade sprang up with Africa and with the West Indies, fish, lumber, and food products were carried to the planters of the sugar islands, where these articles were in demand, and in return sugar and molasses were brought back in large quantities to the mainland. Hundreds of distilleries sprang up along the New England coast in the vicinity of Boston and in Rhode Island to manufacture the sugar and molasses into rum.

In the one town of Newport, Rhode Island, there were a score of such distilleries, and a large number in and about the Massachusetts capital.

Just as profitable as the sale of the rum to the Indians and equally questionable was the use made of the liquor to buy kidnapped slaves on the coast of Africa. Cargoes of the New England rum were taken to Africa, and in the returning vessels negro slaves were brought back to be sold to the West Indian and southern mainland planters. An extensive three-cornered traffic was thus carried on. Sailing in their own vessels, the New Englanders sold their products to the planters of the sugar islands, and from them obtained the sugar and molasses which they carried home and manufactured into rum. This they exchanged in Africa for the slaves, whom they traded for more molasses and sugar. Profits in the transaction, both in the islands and in New England, were enormous.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the theaters of London desired to place before their audiences the most popular type of an heiress of fortune as the heroine of a play, the young lady in question was almost sure to be represented as the daughter of a West Indian planter. Her marriage was as popular on the stage as that of the American millionaire's daughter to-day to the fortune-hunting noble of Europe. Hurricanes and earthquakes, tropical rainstorms and yellow fever, and the ever-present danger of slave insurrections combined to render the beautiful islands a less desirable place of residence than London, but they could not stop the profits of the plantations. On every one of the islands the blacks outnumbered the whites many times over. For example, in 1767, Jamaica numbered 17,000 whites and 167,000 blacks. The ever-increasing number of the blacks tended to keep the whites away, but at the same time constituted a fair index of the prosperity of the islands. While the wealth of the West Indies far exceeded that of the mainland, the fact that the islands were purely agricultural and must from their nature always remain so, made their future less promising than that of the colonies on the mainland, where commerce and some slight beginnings of manufacturing augured future industrial development.

In 1733, at the desire of the sugar planters of the British West Indies, the British Parliament in London passed the so-called Molasses Act, requiring the importers of sugar and molasses from non-British territory to pay a heavy tax or tariff duty, when these articles were brought into British ports, and allowing the British sugar and molasses to come in free of duty. This was an attempt to force the colonists of the mainland to buy their sugar and molasses from their brethren of the British islands only. The products from the French islands were generally preferred to the

The prosperity of the West Indies.

The Molasses Act of 1733.

British products, so that the New Englanders continued to make their purchases in the French islands and to smuggle their cargoes into the ports at home free of duty in defiance of the law, which could not be enforced against local public opinion.

In view not only of their independent spirit but also of their extensive trade interests, it can be seen how unpopular among the Americans

The working of the navigation laws. must have been the other navigation acts as well as the Molasses Act, by which Great Britain sought to regulate the trade of the colonies. It was a hardship to the colonists to be forbidden to buy and sell certain articles on the continent of Europe, just as it was a hardship to have high tariff duties placed upon the sugar and molasses imported from the French sugar islands. Even intercolonial trade was hampered by heavy duties on the importation of certain goods from one British colony into another. Trade flourished despite the regulations. In the first place, not only the Molasses Act, but all the other trade laws went unenforced to a surprising extent. Smugglers built up large fortunes, and suffered no lack of public esteem because of their practices; indeed, they were often the leading men of the community.

There was, too, a favorable side to the navigation laws. The enumerated commodities, which could be shipped only to Great Britain, were given a preference in that market over similar commodities from other countries. This was a great boon to the Southerners, whose staple products, such as sugar and tobacco, were on the favored list; nor was it any hardship to the Southerners to be restricted in the sale of these products to the British markets, which they would naturally seek. New Englanders, with no staple products for shipment, could not share in this advantage, but there was a source of profit for them in that their ships were allowed to participate in the monopoly of the carrying trade on the ocean between the mother country and the colonies, from which the ships of other nations were excluded. This was the beginning of the extensive shipping industry of New England. The hardships of the restrictions on buying were somewhat reduced by the system of drawbacks or rebates, by which the duties once paid in the customs houses of Great Britain on goods bought in other countries and shipped to America through Great Britain, were in part returned.

Manufacturing, save as carried on in the home, made no headway in the colonies, as the mother country never intended that it should.

Manufacturing. Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century was just beginning to have factories of her own, and she proposed to see no rivals to these spring up in her colonies. To encour-

age the exportation from America of raw material rather than of manufactured goods, she offered bounties on such American products as lumber, tar, turpentine, and hemp. She consciously repressed manufacturing in the colonies by forbidding the exportation thence of woollen goods and hats; and in 1750 Parliament enacted that "no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, no plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, and no furnace for making steel" should be "erected in any of His Majesty's colonies in America." This was a blow to the infant iron industry of Pennsylvania and the other middle colonies. These acts against manufacturing were far better enforced than the navigation acts, and they brought it about that, while wool and iron were abundant in America, articles manufactured from these goods, save those made in private houses, were generally imported from Great Britain. Colonial manufacturing, therefore, consisting mainly of such activities as blacksmithing, spinning, weaving, dressing of leather, shoe-making, soap and candle making, and carpentry, was strictly domestic.

COLONIAL TOWNS

The life of the colonial towns has been pictured by various writers. Brissot de Warville, a French traveler, wrote of Boston in 1788: "The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that Boston. French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends. . . . In some houses you hear the pianoforte. . . . Neatness is seen everywhere in Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of the church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man; calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children. . . . Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children; I see them with pain, however, on the heads of the men. . . . One of the principal pleasures of the inhabitants of these towns consists of little parties for the country among families and friends. The principal expence of the parties, especially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general resemble the English. . . . The university certainly contains men of worth and learning; but science is not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and absorbs all their speculations."

Andrew Burnaby, an English traveler, thus described New York: "The city is situated on a point of a small island. . . . The streets are paved and very clean; but in general they are narrow; New York. there are two or three indeed, which are spacious and airy, particularly the Broad Way. The houses in this street have most of



NEW YORK HARBOR

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. The Fort. | 6. Part of Nutten Island. |
| 2. The Chappel in the Fort. | 7. The Crane. |
| 3. The Secretaries Office. | 8. The Lower Market. |
| 4. The Great Dock With a Bridge over it. | 9. The Great Flesh Market. |
| 5. The Ruines of White Hall Built by Gouverneur Duncan. | |

them a row of trees before them, which form an agreeable shade and produce a pretty effect. The whole length of the town is something more than a mile; the breadth about half a one. . . . The inhabitants . . . being however of different nations, different languages, and different religions, it is almost impossible to give them any precise or determinate character. The women are handsome and agreeable, though rather more reserved than the Philadelphia ladies. Their amusements are much the same as in Pennsylvania, viz: balls and sleighing expeditions in the winter; and in the summer, going in parties on the water, and fishing; or making excursions in the country."

Brissot de Warville wrote of Philadelphia: "Philadelphia may be considered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the finest town and the best built; it is the most healthy, though not the most luxurious. You may find here more men of information, more political and literary knowledge, and more learned societies. Many towns in America are more ancient, but Philadelphia has surpassed her elders. By ten o'clock in the evening all is tranquill in the streets; the profound silence which reigns there is only interrupted by the voice of watchmen, who are in small numbers and form the only patrol. The streets are lighted by lamps, placed like those in London. On the sides of the streets are footways of brick, and gutters constructed of brick or wood. Strong posts are placed to prevent carriages from passing on the footways.



IN 1717. Redrawn from a rare print.

- 10. The Dutch Church.
- 11. The English Church.
- 12. The City Hall.
- 13. The Exchange.

- 14. The French Church.
- 15. The Upper Market.
- 16. The Station Ship.
- 17. A Wharf.

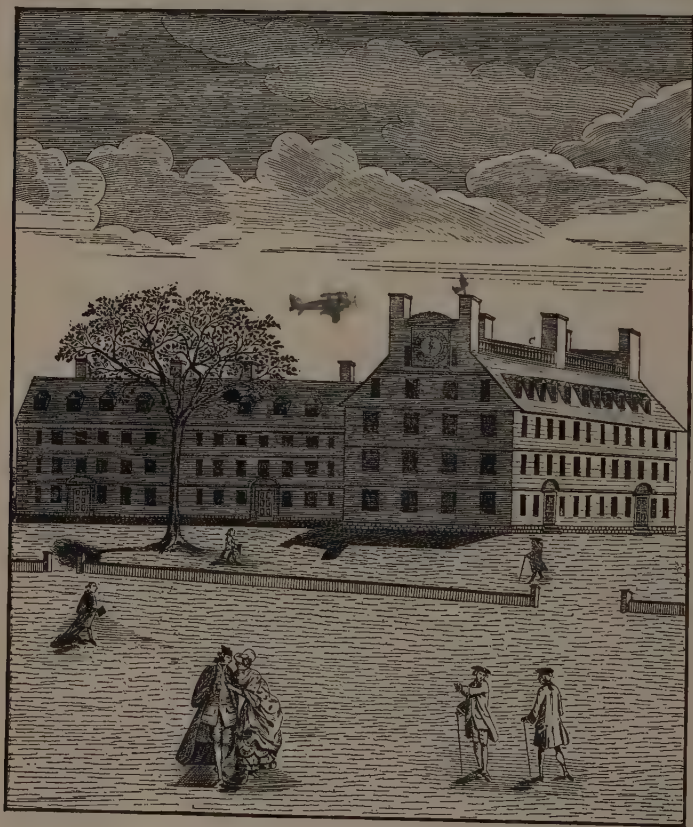
All the streets are furnished with public pumps, in great number. At the door of each house are placed two benches, where the family sit at evening to take the fresh air. . . . Philadelphia is built on a regular plan; long and large streets cross each other at right angles. . . . The streets are not inscribed and the doors are not numbered. . . . The women wear hats and caps almost as varied as those of Paris. They bestow immense expences on their toilet and head dress. . . . The Philadelphians confine not their attentions to their brethren; they extend it to strangers; they have formed a society for the assistance of immigrants, who arrive from Germany. A similar one is found at New York, called the Hibernian Society, for the succor of immigrants from Ireland. These societies inform themselves of the arrival of a ship, of the situation of the immigrants, and procure them immediate employment."

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

John Adams once wrote that he had "an overweening prejudice in favor of New England." "The public institutions in New England for the education of the youth," he went on, "supporting colleges at the public expense and obliging towns to maintain grammar schools are not equaled, and never were, in any part of the world." In New England were Harvard College, founded in 1636, Yale College 1701, Rhode Island College (Brown University) 1764, and Dartmouth College 1769; in the middle colonies were King's College (Columbia University) 1754, the College of New Jersey (Prince-

The progress
of education.

ton University) 1746, Philadelphia College (University of Pennsylvania) 1749, and Queen's College (Rutgers College) 1766; and in the South was William and Mary College, 1693. The middle colonies possessed public schools, though these were not general here as in New England; in the southern colonies public schools were almost unknown. The plantations were supplied with occasional



HARVARD COLLEGE, 1788

private schools, but these were poor in quality, and the rich plantation owners usually sent their sons to the northern colleges or to Europe to be educated.

The first book printed in the English colonies was the "Bay Psalm Book," published in Boston in 1640; the first newspaper, the *News-*

Letter, appeared in 1704. Colonial publications were few and were confined largely to works on theology.

Life on the colonial frontier, so many parts of which were settled by those fleeing from persecution for conscience' sake, was essentially religious. Usually the refugees were members of religious bodies out of accord with the common orthodox beliefs of the home countries. The strict Puritanism of New England gradually relaxed after the planting of the Church of England in Massachusetts toward the close of the seventeenth century, though the Puritan or Congregational Church remained the prevailing religious body. Roman Catholicism was strong at first in Maryland, but later the Church of England was dominant in that colony as well as in Virginia. The Baptists were strong in Rhode Island and the Dutch Reformed in New York. The Quakers were numerous in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the Lutherans among the Pennsylvania Germans, while the Scotch-Irish in the "back country" of Pennsylvania and southward were mainly members of the Presbyterian Church. There were Jews in small numbers in various parts of the seaboard. As in its early days under the Dutch, New York remained to the end of the colonial period a cosmopolitan center, frequented by men of divers sects. An old map of 1728 locates in the city a chapel of the Church of England, a Trinity Church, an Old Dutch Church, a New Dutch Church, a Presbyterian Meetinghouse, a Quaker Meetinghouse, a Baptist Meetinghouse, a Lutheran Church, and a Jewish Synagogue.

The different religious sects.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The three kinds of colonies in America, corporate, ^{charter} proprietary, and royal, have already been described. There was a distinct tendency for the first two kinds to become royal, until in 1763, of the thirteen English-speaking colonies on the mainland, two were corporate, three proprietary, and eight royal. In the conduct of his office the governor of a royal colony was guided from Great Britain by his "commission" and "instructions." He exercised power in the legislative branch by his appointment, in most cases, of the members of the upper house of the legislature, and by his right to veto legislative enactments. In all the colonies, with the exception of Maryland, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, all bills passed by the legislature had to be sent to Great Britain for approval or disapproval, which was frequently long withheld. From 1765 to 1775 probably as many as five hundred colonial bills were dis-

Principles of colonial administration.

allowed by the home government. All colonial bills, repugnant to the laws of England on the same subject, were null and void. The judicial branch of the government of the colony was dependent on the Crown for the appointment of the judges, and for the final decisions in all such cases as were appealed from the colonial to the British courts. There were at least one hundred and thirty-four such appeals from 1760 to 1770.

Against this predominance of the home government in the different branches of the colonial administration the popularly elected lower branch of the legislature wielded several weapons, till by the middle of the eighteenth century this lower branch and not the governor was in practical control of affairs.

The struggles of the colonial assemblies. 1. In the first place, the lower house frequently refused to allow the governor to superintend the expenditure of the money appropriated by its vote, but intrusted this function to boards created by itself. 2. It refused to vote a regular salary to the governor, but made or withheld the grant as it chose, and raised or lowered the amount according to its own pleasure. 3. In the same manner, if the upper or appointed house of the assembly, controlled by the governor, stood out against the lower house, the latter body had it within its power to exercise practical coercion by refusing to pass the necessary financial legislation. When the judges, appointed in England, seemed to be thwarting the popular will, they could be coerced, like the governor, by the power of the lower branch over their salaries.

Politics in the colonies turned more or less on these questions at issue between the royal governors and the popular law-making body.

General nature of political questions. Many a conflict was waged with extreme bitterness, but with little suggestion of disloyalty or of a desire to separate from Great Britain until 1774. For the most part, the movement toward independence sprang out of an entirely different set of questions, to wit, those connected with the regulation of trade by Parliament.

John Adams, in the letter already quoted, boastfully but truthfully touched upon a striking difference between the colonies of New England and those farther south in the matter of local government.

Local government in New England. "The division of our territory, that is, of our county, into townships, empowering towns to assemble, choose officers, make laws, mend roads, and twenty other things, gives every man an opportunity of showing and improving that education which he received at college or at school, and makes knowledge and dexterity at public business common."

This is an allusion to the New England town meeting or mass

meeting of voters, which directly managed the affairs of the town. From the early records of the town of Providence, Rhode Island, it appears that the town meeting there, which was typical of the meeting in general, selected members of the grand and petit juries; ordered that "no Geese shall be lett goe upon the Common or in the highways nor in the water in this township or within the jurisdiction thereof nor upon any other person's land"; voted the building of fences and gates along the public roads; granted bounties for the killing of gray squirrels; inspected the town treasurer's accounts; approved of grants of money and clothing to the poor; determined upon the amount of taxes to be raised; and elected such officials as the town clerk, constable, treasurer, rate maker, surveyors of the highways, overseers of the poor, pound keepers, fence viewers, a packer and sealer, hog constables, hemp viewers, and deputies to the assembly or legislature of the colony.

**The New
England
town
meeting.**

In the southern colonies of the mainland the unit of local government was not the town, for in this section there were but few towns, but rather the county. The county officials, the sheriff, the lieutenant colonel of the militia, the justices of the peace, and the coroners were appointed by the governor, the chief function of the people being to elect their representatives to the colonial legislature. When compared with local government in New England, the southern system seems less democratic, but it had its advantages and afforded an excellent political training for all who were fortunate enough to belong to the office-holding class. In the War of Independence, which was soon to come, there were as many great leaders from the South as from the North: George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee, from Virginia, were as ardent champions of liberty as Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, and James Otis from Massachusetts.

**Local gov-
ernment in
the southern
colonies.**

In the local government of the middle colonies there was a mixture of the New England and the southern systems; whatever the form of government, the people of the middle colonies, in common with the New Englanders and the Southerners, were devoted to popular government, and gave to the cause of liberty such men as John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Robert Livingston, and John Jay.

**The middle
colonies.**

There were property qualifications for voting in all the colonies, and in some, strict religious qualifications, so that the actual number of voters, in proportion to the population, was small. In New York City eight per cent of the people voted; in Philadelphia and in Massachusetts and Connecticut only two per

**The
suffrage.**

cent. Everywhere the suffrage was in the hands of a small fraction of the people.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What is the meaning of the word "economic"? Describe the plantation system of agriculture. Describe a New England town meeting. Was the town meeting or the county system the better able to produce statesmen and leaders? What, in Crèvecoeur's opinion, was an American? Describe the experiences of a settler on the extreme frontier. Describe life in a colonial town. Why did not fur trading lead to fixed settlements? Why were there but few towns in the South? What industries did Great Britain encourage in America, and what did she discourage, and why? Men of what different religions sought refuge in America from persecution?

B. Fri

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF POLITICAL DISCONTENT

THE NEW REVENUE LAWS

DEFEAT of their rivals after a half century of conflict, giving undisputed possession of an immensely enlarged territory, stretching from the frozen north to the Gulf of Mexico and from the West Indies to the Mississippi, raised new problems and led the British statesmen into an entirely new method of dealing with the colonies. In the early days of the seventeenth century it was a great experiment in the world's history for one nation to attempt to build up and govern a frontier in the wilderness thousands of miles away and separated from the home country by a vast ocean. The British had gone into the experiment and had on the whole succeeded admirably, as their prosperous and rapidly growing colonies of the eighteenth century proved. Then, going blindly in the face of this acknowledged success, they adopted an entirely different policy and lost thirteen of their most promising colonies.

The effect on the British of their victory.

/ The British statesmen determined to centralize the control of the enlarged empire in London more than ever before, to send forth to the colonies royal officials of new and greater powers, to station more British soldiers in the different parts of the empire, and in the Parliament in London to pass more stringent colonial laws; all despite the fact that the colonists themselves preferred to have things continue in the old way, without new reminders of Great Britain's power over them. Let it be remembered that Great Britain did not aim her new legislation at the "thirteen colonies." Had any one at the time spoken of the "thirteen colonies," the expression would have conveyed no meaning, for no one would have known which thirteen colonies were meant. Great Britain had more than twenty colonies in America and her new policy applied to them all, to Jamaica and Barbados as well as to Massachusetts and Virginia.

The new colonial policy.

To maintain the new empire and to pay the heavy indebtedness incurred in building it up, which had doubled in a few years and by

1763 amounted to £140,000,000, additional revenue was imperative.

More rigid enforcement of the navigation laws.

As a first step, it was decided, even before the last war with the French was concluded, to attempt the rigid enforcement of the existing navigation or tariff laws, and thus compel the Americans to pay a share of the new burdens. The common disregard of these regulations found especially flagrant expression in the unpatriotic course of merchants who traded with the fleets and garrisons of the French even while hostilities were in progress. To stop the practice the courts issued writs of assistance, which were general search warrants, authorizing the customs officials to search any house or building whatsoever at any time for smuggled goods. James Otis, a lawyer of Boston, in an impassioned argument before the courts against the writs, voiced the opposition of the colonists: "It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power . . . that ever was found upon an English law book. . . . One of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle, and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. . . . What a scene does this open! Every man, prompted by revenge, ill humor or wantonness, to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house, may get a writ of assistance." The writs had frequently been employed in England and occasionally in the colonies, and Otis lost the case.

Secondly, to increase the revenue from America, the Molasses Act of 1733 was succeeded by the Sugar Act of 1764, which reduced the old duty on molasses by one-half, and placed new duties on coffee, pimento, wines, silks, linens, and sugar. Strict measures were taken to enforce the law. All officers and even common sailors on ships of war were authorized to assist the regular revenue officials in the suppression of smuggling, and all offenders were to be tried, not in the ordinary courts of law, but in the admiralty courts without a jury. The amount of revenue accruing was not materially increased, whilst an undesirable spirit of resentment against the mother country was aroused, especially in commercial New England.

A new tariff law, the Sugar Act of 1764.

The Sugar Act was a part of the new financial policy of the Prime Minister, George Grenville, the head of the British Cabinet. At his advice, too, Parliament passed the Stamp Act of 1765, which the British historian Lecky has characterized as "one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind." This latter act required the Americans to place stamps, which were to be purchased from the government, upon legal documents of various kinds, upon newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, playing cards, and

The stamp tax.

many other articles. The tax on wills was to be five shillings; on every pack of playing cards purchased, one shilling; on every advertisement in the newspapers, two shillings; and on every almanac two pence. Such a tax was simple and direct, and it was thought that it would be easily and cheaply collected; evasion would be difficult; and it was confidently predicted that the sale of the stamps would yield a revenue of many thousand pounds per year. The promise was given to the colonies by the British government that the first revenue secured from the sale of the stamps would be expended for the immediate purpose of putting down the conspiracy of Pontiac, an uprising of the Indians west of the Alleghanies, and that under no circumstances would any portion of the money be expended outside of America.



BRITISH STAMP

Massachusetts had levied such a tax upon herself in 1755, Great Britain collected such a tax at home, and taxes of the same nature are now collected in the United States; but the Americans of 1765 flatly refused to have anything to do with a tax imposed on them by the British. In New York a congress of nine mainland colonies, called the Stamp Act Congress, came together to plan systematic opposition. While professing "all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain," the Congress maintained "that it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a free people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed upon them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives," and that the colonies "are not and from their local circumstances cannot be represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain." The distributor of the new stamps in Boston was hanged in effigy from a tree in the main street of the town, the stamp office torn down, and the home of Chief Justice Hutchinson sacked. In New York the effigy of the governor of the colony was paraded around the town and then burned. On the day when the act was to go into effect, flags were hung at half-mast, shops were closed, bells were tolled, and copies of the Stamp Act were hawked about the streets bearing the inscription, "The folly of England and the ruin of America."

Attitude of
the colonies
toward the
stamp tax.

Few stamps were sold. Merchants, to express their resentment to the mother country, ceased importations from Britain, until finally, at the wish of the British commercial classes, who feared the loss of the entire American trade if the colo-

The repeal
of the stamp
tax.

nies were further exasperated, the act was repealed. Accompanying the Repeal Act, however, was the Declaratory Act, to the effect that Great Britain had full power to make laws "to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

British and American views in regard to the respective rights of colony and mother country, of King and Parliament, were now in violent collision. The Americans contended that Par-
Constitutional arguments. liament, even if it had come to exercise the royal power in Great Britain, had not the same jurisdiction over the colonies as had the Crown, which in the beginning had granted the charters. In certain of these charters "the rights of Englishmen" were definitely guaranteed to the colonists. No one at all conversant with English history could deny that one of the dearest rights of Englishmen was to vote their own taxes. On this point the Americans made a distinction between internal and external taxes. Theoretically they did not consider that it was contrary to the rights of Englishmen for the mother country to regulate the foreign trade of the colonies by tariff taxes, although, as has been seen, they inconsistently evaded their payment. Internal taxes, however, collected not for the sake of regulating commerce but primarily to raise revenue to pay the expenses of the government, were a different matter. It was their undoubted right as Englishmen, the Americans claimed, to have a voice in the imposition of such taxes, and without their consent the taxes would be void.

It was sheer nonsense to hold up to the Americans in the crisis the British theory that every member of the House of Commons represented in that body every subject in the kingdom, and that consequently the Americans, as members of the
British and American views of representation. British empire, were represented in the Parliament in London. The British and the American views of representation were quite different, and just here was a source of misunderstanding. The Americans were in the habit of apportioning their representatives in their several colonial legislatures according to population, and changing the number and size of the districts as population changed; each district in America, moreover, elected its representative from among its own residents. The British, on the other hand, did not change their apportionment of representatives as population changed, and hence with the century-old division of districts new centers of population, such as the manufacturing cities of Manchester and Sheffield for example, were often without an elected representative of their own. A member elected to the House of Commons from any district was not necessarily a resident of that

district but might hail from any section of the kingdom. The Americans, knowing that they elected no representative to the British Parliament and that none left their shores to attend the meetings of that body, could well claim, from their point of view, that they were unrepresented in the law-making body in London, and they failed to accept the British explanation that as members of the empire they were represented by all the members of the House of Commons.

In justification of the British taxation of America was the course of Spain, which derived large revenues from her American possessions. She exacted from her American subjects a poll tax, a tax on sales, import and export taxes, a convoy tax, a tax on the sale of offices and on the sale of indulgences, and received the entire income from the state monopolies of the sale of gunpowder, salt, tobacco, and quicksilver. From these sources and from the mines Spain in the year 1796 derived from America a revenue of \$16,000,000. France also imposed taxes on her American possessions.

The colonial taxes of Spain and France.

Pitt, who had carried his country triumphantly through the French and Indian War, stood firmly for the rights of the Americans. "I rejoice that America has resisted," he said in the debate over the repeal of the stamp tax. "Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. . . . The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed and are not represented. . . . But they are all inhabitants, and, as such, are they not virtually represented? . . . If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject. . . . America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." He urged that continued peaceful trade with America was of more value to the British people than the pittance that could be obtained by taxation. Burke, Conway, and Barré held the same views, and in general the Whig party opposed the stamp tax and all the oppressive policies of the government in American administration.

British sympathy for the colonies.

Though the Whigs were the party that had waged successfully the French and Indian War, George III, upon his accession to the throne toward the close of that war, forced their leaders out of office and gathered about him the "King's Friends," who were mainly members of the Tory party. Under the two preceding monarchs, George I and George II, who were

The arbitrary course of George III.

thoroughgoing Germans, caring little for England and hardly able to speak the English language, the prestige of the Crown had waned fast, and the cabinet, the meetings of which the King rarely attended, had

come to exercise the royal prerogatives. George III was English in his education, a man of tremendous will power and energy, though not of great intellectual ability. When as a youth of twenty-two he was crowned in 1760, his mother, with sorrowful reference to the low estate to which the royal power had fallen, admonished him, "George, be King!" and under the inspiration of this admonition, George set out to win back the lost powers and to be "every inch a King." He insisted on ministers of his own



GEORGE III

After a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

choice, though they did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, and he resorted to bribery and corruption to push his measures through Parliament.

Under the leadership in the House of Commons of Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Great Britain turned to new tariff taxes in 1767, and by the Townshend Acts added tea, glass, lead, paper, and a few other things to the list of articles upon which the Americans were to pay an import tax.

More tariff taxes. The Townshend Acts of 1767.

It was more than a regulation of commerce; it was a revenue measure, the income from which was to be used to pay the salaries of the colonial judges and governors, and thus free these officials from the control exercised over them by the colonial legislatures. Parliament at the same time provided that the legislature of New York should be suspended from sitting for refusing to make provision for the British regulars, who were sent to the colonies in accordance with the Quartering Act of 1765. This action brought up the question whether or not Parliament could break up a colonial legislature. The further order that, while the colony remained obdurate, the governor of New York should give his assent to no laws

passed in that colony, raised the question whether or not it was the business of Parliament to interfere with the local laws passed by the Americans for themselves.

The Americans met the new tariff duties with a storm of opposition. At the instigation of Virginia formal non-importation societies were organized in the various colonies to boycott British goods on an extensive scale. In one year importations from Great Britain fell off one-half, and in three years only £16,000 of revenue were collected, which it cost £200,000 to collect. Stamp taxes and tariff taxes, internal and external taxes, were thus alike objectionable; in the heat of resentment the distinction between the two kinds of taxes was disregarded.

The opposition of the colonists.

In the discussion following the enactment of the Townshend Acts, there appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper a series of essays entitled "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," which had a wide influence. The author was John Dickinson, who had written the resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress and was soon to be known as one of the foremost political writers in America. He did not argue for independence, but said: "Let these truths be indelibly impressed upon our minds: that we cannot be happy without being free; that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed on us by Parliament, do thus take it away."

John Dickinson's "Farmers' Letters."

By virtue of the Quartering Act passed in 1765, for refusal to obey which the New York legislature was suspended, the colonies were required to provide for the accommodation of British regulars, who were to be sent to America in greater numbers than formerly to defend the enlarged empire. Late in 1768 the King sent two regiments to Boston, where their presence soon caused the trouble which might have been expected. On the night of the fifth of March, 1770, after a false alarm of fire had called together a large concourse of people, a crowd of men and boys began to harass and insult a handful of red-coated soldiers on guard in one of the principal streets, calling out, "Rascals!" "Lobsters!" and such epithets, and hurling snowballs, stones, and other missiles at them, until the soldiers opened fire in self-defense. Five of the mob were killed and six wounded. Though the troops were speedily removed from the town to an island in the harbor, the damage had been done; the conciliating removal came too late, and the Americans were provided with another grievance.

The Boston Massacre.

The soldiers who fired the shots were tried for their lives in the courts of Massachusetts, and after a fair trial all were acquitted with the exception of two, who were found guilty of manslaughter and lightly punished. The efforts of two prominent colonial lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, in behalf



THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

By Paul Revere.

of the accused, and the conservative verdict of the jury were evidence that the Americans as a whole were fair-minded and not bloodthirsty.

The massacre in Boston was followed by a period of excited public discussion, which afforded to the fertile genius of Samuel Adams

opportunity to put into operation a bold experiment.

By his suggestion the various towns of Massachusetts appointed committees of correspondence to carry on discussion from one end of the colony to the other, to keep every part

informed of the state of public sentiment in every other part, in short, to continue the agitation. Somewhat later a new wave of excitement swept over the colonies, following an attempt on the part of Great Britain to apprehend and punish the ring-leaders of a mob in Providence.

Rhode Island, which had burned to the water's edge the *Gaspée*, a vessel of the royal navy engaged in suppressing smuggling; and when, in the outburst, Virginia suggested committees of correspondence among the different colonies, the plan was adopted and proved unexpectedly effective in binding the colonies together.

The non-importation societies, by bringing about a reduction in the amount of British goods sold in America, again induced Great Britain to change her laws, until a tax on tea was all that was left of the objectionable tariff, and this was only The tariff on tea. threepence on the pound. In fact, tea could be bought more cheaply in America than in England; but the principle of taxation without representation was involved, and on this point the Americans would not yield.

When a consignment of tea arrived in Boston harbor, citizens of Cambridge, Brookline, Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, and Boston joined in a mass meeting, which voted unanimously that The Boston Tea Party. the tea be taken back to England. When more than two weeks had passed and the tea ships still lay at the wharf, a large town meeting came together in Old South Meetinghouse in Boston, and demanded that the governor order the tea to be taken away. While the crowd was waiting for his answer, a voice called out, amid applause, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?" The governor sent his refusal, and Samuel Adams rose and announced to his assembled fellow-citizens, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." A shout of fifty passing "Indians" was heard outside the door, and the crowd filed out of the meetinghouse to the wharf and stood in silence for three hours in the darkness of the night, while the "Indians" pitched the three hundred and forty chests of tea into the ocean in the famous Boston Tea Party. So still was the crowd that the click of the hatchets was distinctly heard by those on shore. The date was nine days before Christmas, 1773. Said an English writer, upon hearing of the occurrence, "Beware, little town, count the cost, and know well if you dare to defy the wrath of Great Britain, and if you love exile, and poverty, and death rather than submission." At New York and Philadelphia also the hated cargo of the tea ships was not allowed to be landed. Taxation without representation was a failure in America.

THE INTOLERABLE ACTS These men

"The town of Boston," said one member of the British Parliament, "ought to be knocked about the ears and destroyed. You will never meet with proper obedience of the laws till you have destroyed

that nest of locusts." Under the leadership of Lord North, who was now Prime Minister, Parliament in 1774 passed three coercive acts: first, the Boston Port Bill, by which the port of Boston was closed to commerce and the custom-house located at Salem, till Boston paid for the tea which had been destroyed and gave promise of good behavior in the future; second, the Massachusetts Government Act, remodeling the charter of Massachusetts and ordering that the upper house of the legislature, till then elected by the lower house, be appointed by the King, that the judges and sheriffs be appointed by the governor, that the jurymen be selected by the sheriffs and no longer by the people, and that the powers of the town meeting be curtailed; and third, the Administration of Justice Act, providing that if murder was committed in Massachusetts and the governor deemed that the crime had been committed in aiding the magistrates to put down riot and insurrection and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, the accused might be taken to another province or to Great Britain for trial. These three coercive measures of 1774 were aimed at Massachusetts alone. Two other "Intolerable Acts" were passed by Parliament at the same time. One reenacted the Quartering Act of 1765, and the other concerned the government of the new colony of Quebec, won from France in 1763.

This latter, or Quebec Act, provided for an arbitrary form of government for that colony, with restricted right of trial by jury, no popular law-making, and with the Roman Catholic religion practically set up as the state religion of the province. When it was known that the limits of Quebec, under such principles of government, were extended south and west to the Ohio, where Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia had claims to the land, there was an outburst of indignation.

The rapid succession of events could have but one meaning, the mother country and her colonies did not understand one another. A crisis was at hand.

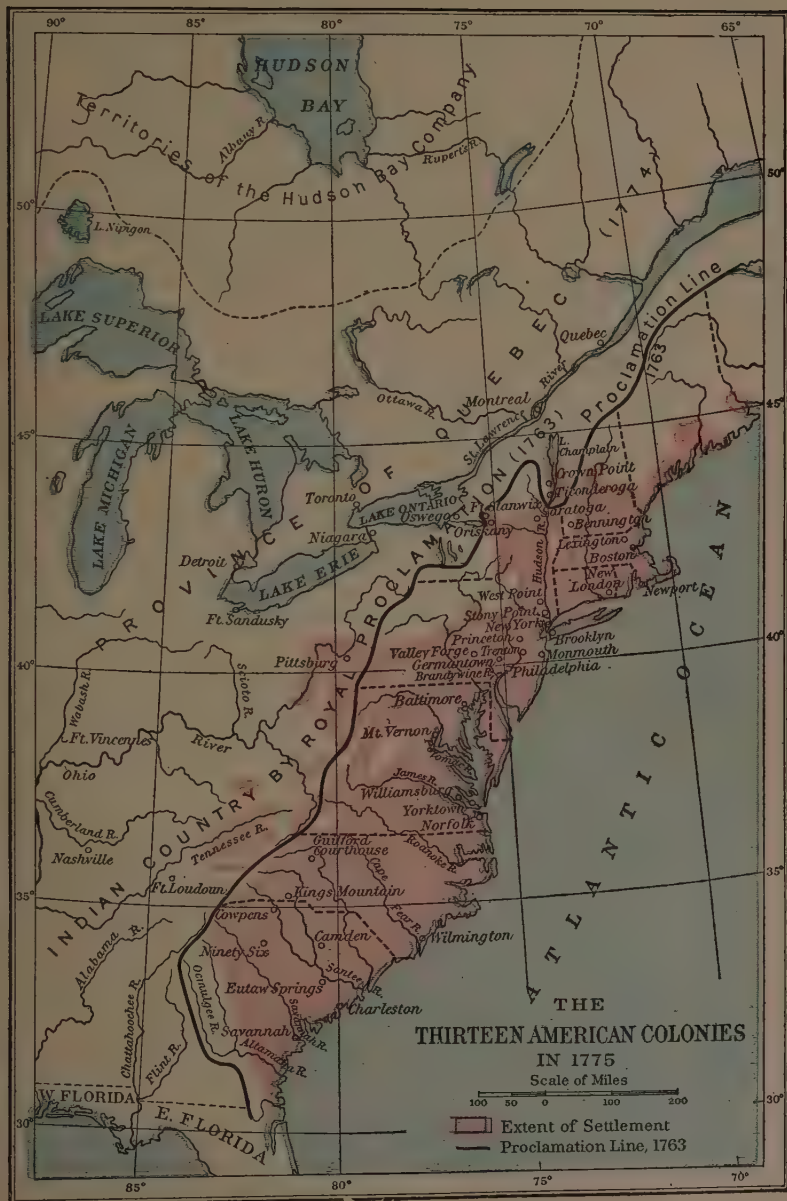
Massachusetts and her sister colonies acted together with wonderful unanimity. That the people of persecuted Boston might not suffer, loads of supplies were poured in on the town from every quarter, from far-away Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, as well as from the near-by towns. The merchants of Salem and Marblehead gave to their Boston neighbors the free use of their wharves and warehouses. The first day of June, 1774, when the new coercive acts were to go into effect, was generally observed as a day of fasting and prayer.

Still more remarkable was the coöperation of twelve continental

**The five
Intolerable
Acts.**

**The Quebec
Act.**

**Assistance
to stricken
Massachu-
setts.**



colonies in sending representatives to Philadelphia to discuss the situation and if possible devise a plan of common action, in what came to be known as the First Continental Congress. The call for this Congress was issued by the legislature of Massachusetts, on the motion of Samuel Adams. "A meeting of committees, from the several colonies on this continent is highly expedient and necessary," ran the call, "to consult upon the present state of the colonies, and the miseries, to which they are, and must be reduced, by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovering and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all men." Common danger was driving the different colonies together, for it was felt that if the Parliament of Great Britain could thus lightly disregard the charter of Massachusetts, no one could tell on what other part of the country the next blow would fall. Massachusetts sent John Adams and Samuel Adams to the Congress, Delaware sent John Dickinson, and Virginia Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. The more or less united action of the colonies of the mainland on previous occasions partially explains the success of the new movement. There had been the New England Confederation of four colonies in the middle of the seventeenth century, the gathering in New York in 1690 to confer in regard to defense against the French and Indians, the Albany congress of 1754, the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and the committees of correspondence.

The First
Continental
Congress.

The First Continental Congress of 1774 was outwardly a loyal body with no revolutionary tendencies apparent, but it nevertheless strenuously objected to the late "tyrannical acts" of Great Britain. It expressed sympathy for the town of Boston, and adopted the so-called Association, which, so far as the use of British goods and the shipment to Britain of American goods were concerned, was "a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement." Effort was made to increase the effectiveness of the boycott of British goods by the appointment in every county, city, and town, of those "whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this Association"; and these local committees were directed to publish the names of all who refused to carry out the terms of the boycott.

The loyalty
of the Con-
tinental
Congress.

The Congress which took this firm stand differed from the present law-making Congress of the United States, for the votes of the

members from any one colony could be controlled by the revolutionary assemblies, conventions, and committees that appointed them. It had no power to carry out its acts, but depended on public opinion for their enforcement.

OPENING ACTS OF WAR

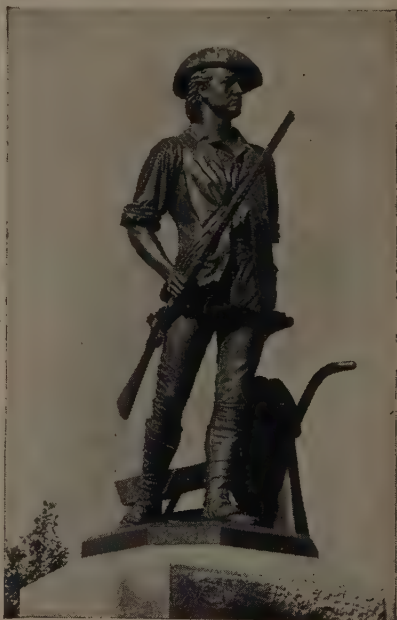
The governor of Massachusetts under Great Britain's new method of administering the colony was General Gage. When he summoned the legislature to meet in Salem, whither he had removed the capital of the colony from Boston, and then withdrew the call, that body met in spite of him, and as a professed revolutionary body assumed control of the colony outside the territory in and around Boston, which was in the hands of British soldiers. The people were invited to pay taxes to the revolutionary government and to organize local militia companies and committees of safety, which they proceeded to do. Affairs in Massachusetts were rapidly taking on a martial aspect.

Within less than a year the presence of the British regulars led to a rupture which went far beyond the Boston massacre both in immediate and in

The battle of Concord and Lexington.

permanent results. The thousands of royal troops in Boston were matched by a large body of native militia or minutemen, recruited from the inhabitants of the surrounding towns, ready to be on the march at a minute's notice against any hostile demonstration on the part of the British. A warning came in the early morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, when Paul Revere galloped through the countryside from Boston to Lexington and Concord and roused the inhabitants with the news, "The British are coming!"

So they were, eight hundred strong, with orders to destroy the military stores of the patriots in Concord and to arrest two of the patriot



THE MINUTE MAN

From the statue at Concord by Daniel C. French.
Photograph copyright Detroit Publishing Co.

leaders, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, for treason. In a few hours the redcoats drew up on Lexington green, confronted by fifty minutemen under Captain Parker. No one knows who fired the first shot. The Americans claimed that this responsibility belonged to the British commander, Major Pitcairn, who shouted, "Disperse, ye villains!" and then gave the order to fire, while the British declared that the first shots came from rebels hidden behind stone walls. Eight of the minutemen were killed and ten wounded. The British column moved on to Concord to destroy the stores there, but found that most of these had been removed to places of safety before their arrival. Adams and Hancock escaped. Then the British had to run the gauntlet back to Boston between little squads of the hostile farmers peppering away at them as they passed, from behind stone walls and trees. It was a nightmare of a retreat, and despite their reënforcements from Boston, ended in a loss for the British of two hundred and seventy-three killed, wounded, and captured. The loss of the Americans was ninety-three.

The news of the fighting spread rapidly. Men from twenty-three towns joined in the fight before it was over, one company marching sixteen miles in four hours. Patriot leaders came from all New England. Colonel Israel Putnam on horseback covered the distance of one hundred miles from his home in Connecticut to Boston in eighteen hours. Benedict Arnold arrived from Connecticut, and John Stark from New Hampshire. The outbreak took place on Wednesday, and by Saturday night the British were besieged in Boston by 18,000 Americans.

The quick spread of the news of the battle.

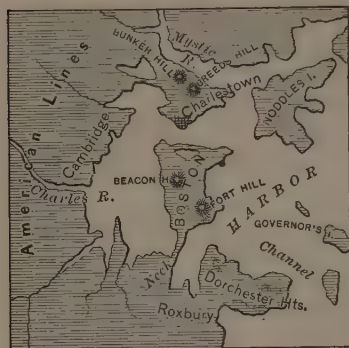
The victorious and excited Americans took the offensive by dispatching an expedition against the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The Green Mountain Boys of Vermont, under Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, led the attack, and three weeks after Concord and Lexington, on May 10, the two fortresses surrendered. The captured stores of two hundred cannon and large supplies of powder and ball proved of immense value to the patriot cause.

The capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Meanwhile the siege of Boston continued. On the night of June 16, 1775, Colonel William Prescott, with twelve hundred men, occupied Breed's Hill which adjoined Bunker Hill, on the peninsula of Charlestown, overlooking Boston. On the morning of the seventeenth the British were astonished to see the hastily constructed fortifications frowning down upon them. The position of the Americans had been rashly chosen. By seizing the narrow neck of land connecting the peninsula with the mainland and thus cutting

The battle of Bunker Hill.

off the retreat of the Americans, the British could have destroyed the colonial army at their pleasure; but General Gage, believing that



SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4
BOSTON AND VICINITY

"the rabble of New England" could not possibly stand before European regulars, offset the folly of their choice by his own folly in determining upon a frontal attack. Giving the narrow neck of land a wide berth, Gage sent an army under General Howe by water to the other end of the peninsula at the bottom of the hill, to march up and drive the enemy before them. On the first attempt they got to within fifty yards of the American entrenchments and then fell back before the fire directed against them. They charged a second time, and succeeded in getting within thirty yards

of the foe before they were driven back. In the third attempt they were successful, because the Americans had no more powder. The persistency of the British cost them one thousand fifty-four men in killed and wounded, or more than a third of their entire force. The Americans lost four hundred and forty-nine, among them Doctor Joseph Warren, who, with the two Adamses and John Hancock, had been a leader in the revolt in Massachusetts. Evidently their frontier life had made good shots out of the New England "rabble." While the battle was a small one and a defeat for the Americans, never has a defeat had more inspiring effects. The fighting blood of America was stirred, and the belief in the superiority of British regulars over provincial volunteers was dispelled.

Two weeks after the engagement at Breed's Hill, commonly known as the Battle of Bunker Hill, George Washington of Virginia arrived in Cambridge to take charge of the American forces around Boston. The Continental Congress had appointed him to the command of the American forces because of his military reputation, acquired in the French and Indian War. They hoped that his appointment would rally the southern colonies to the cause, which, so far as open hostilities were concerned, had been up to this time merely a local insurrection in New England. The forces at Boston gave the new commander a hearty welcome.

George Washington as commander-in-chief.

In September of the same year, 1775, the colonies in revolt attempted the conquest of Canada, in the hope of attaching this province to their

cause. One army, proceeding northward from Lake Champlain under General Montgomery, took Montreal and laid siege to Quebec, where it was soon joined by a second division of eleven hundred men under Colonel Benedict Arnold, which had made its way to the north through the forests of Maine. After a combined assault on the stronghold of Quebec on the last day of the year, in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded, the undertaking was abandoned.

The expedition against Canada.

Washington did not accompany the expeditions to Canada, but settled down to the siege of Boston. His task was a difficult one. The minutemen, who had fought at Concord and Lexington and at Bunker Hill, had enlisted but for short terms, so that before the winter was over an entirely new army had to be mustered. "It is not in the page of history perhaps," Washington wrote, "to furnish a case like ours: to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without powder, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty odd British regiments." In February, 1776, after the siege had been maintained for almost a year, the commander wrote, "My situation has been such that I have been obliged to conceal it from my officers." In one month more the powder and cannon taken at Ticonderoga and Crown Point arrived and all was changed. Awakening one morning the British were surprised to see siege guns on Dorchester Heights, which overlooked Boston from the south, and knew that they must abandon the city or be destroyed. On the seventeenth of March, 1776, they sailed for Halifax, leaving more than two hundred cannon to the Americans, and large quantities of powder and ball.

The siege of Boston.

Both General Gage, and General Howe who succeeded him in command of the British before the city was evacuated, were severely criticized for their "negligence" and "delay" during the previous winter, when the weak American lines might have been broken through at almost any time. The spirit of enterprise and daring which had characterized every branch of the military service while Pitt and the Whigs were at the helm in England during the French and Indian War, seemed now conspicuously lacking in the British camps.

Criticism of the British generals.

Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, made an effort to maintain the British authority in his colony. Though forced to flee from the mainland, he harassed the coast in vessels manned by loyalists and slaves; he threatened the colony with the horrors of a servile insurrection by proclaiming freedom to the slaves if they would join his cause, and he roused

The war spirit in the South. Raids in Virginia.

the indignation of the Virginians to the highest pitch by burning the town of Norfolk. He was forced to desist at last in the summer of 1776.

At the request of the loyalist governor of South Carolina, who desired the presence of British regulars to encourage the loyal sentiment in that colony, a British squadron under Clinton, Cornwallis, and Parker attempted to seize Charleston, the largest and richest city of the South. A small band of patriot defenders at the fort on Sullivan's Island off Charleston repulsed the attack; and in honor of its brave defender, Colonel Moultrie, the fort has since been known as Fort Moultrie. For the next three years the British made no new attempt to establish themselves in the South.

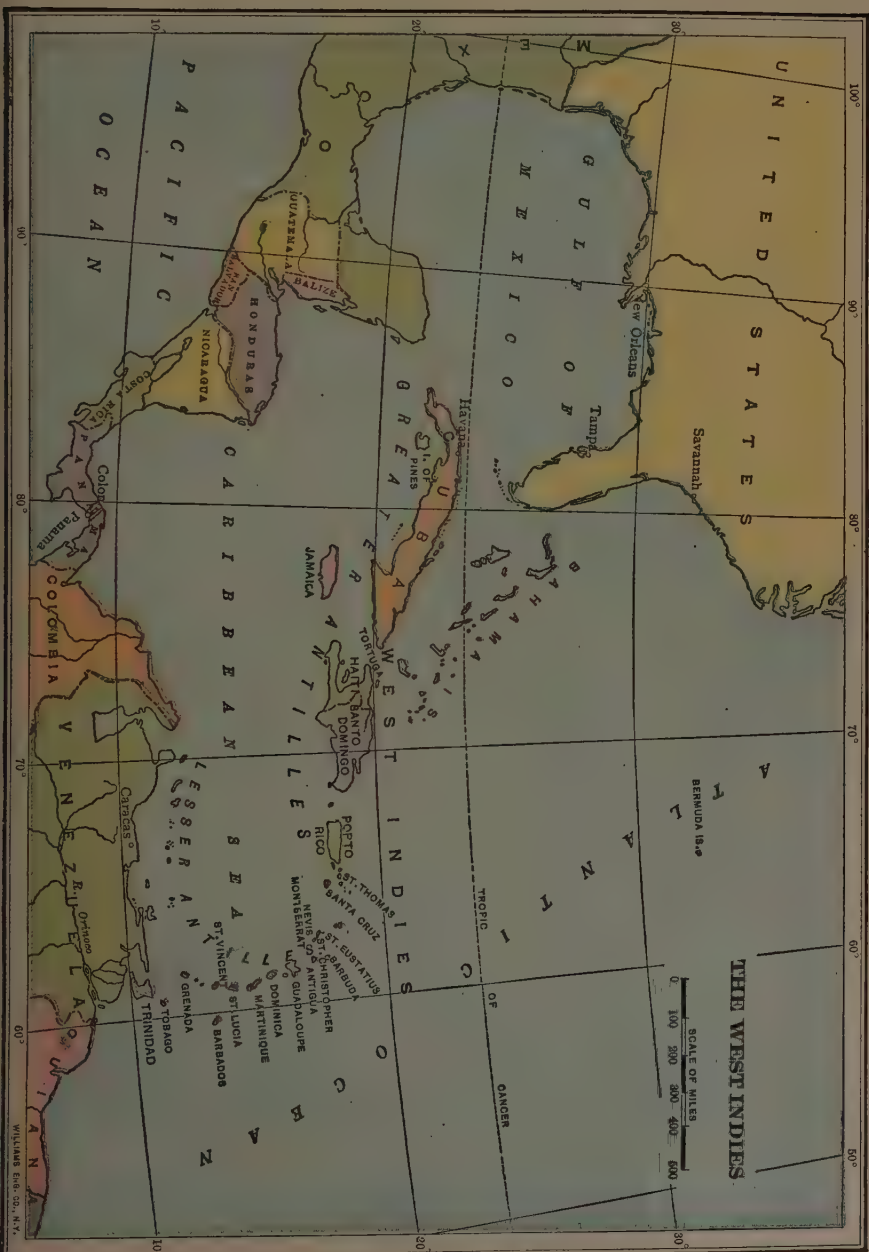
Repulse of
the British
at Charles-
ton, South
Carolina.

THE LOYALISTS

The wisdom of the Quebec Act, so far as winning the allegiance of that colony to Great Britain was concerned, was now apparent, for under its liberal provisions the French Canadians of Quebec, in the full enjoyment of their own laws, customs, and religion, remained loyal to their new rulers. Union with the Protestants of New England, with whom they had little in common either in customs or in creed, had no attractions for them. Nova Scotia, the other French-speaking colony of Great Britain, likewise remained outside the Revolution, as did Great Britain's two new colonies in the south, East Florida and West Florida, which were Spanish in origin and civilization.

The Americans of the British West Indies, though generally English in origin, also refrained from attaching themselves to the revolutionary cause. They differed from the revolting mainland colonies in several important respects. Easy of access by water, and surrounded by French islands from the beginning, they had early learned to look for defense to the navy of the mother country. Moreover they were not self-supporting from the industrial point of view, but found it profitable to devote their energies to raising a few staple products, which found a natural market in Great Britain, and to depend on that country and the continental colonies for most of their supplies. Furthermore, because of the discomforts and dangers of the tropical climate, many of the more substantial islanders, whose extensive property interests gave them large influence on public opinion in the islands, resided for a large part of the year in London, where they acquired the British point of view. It had been in the interests of these planters that the

The loyal
colonies in
the West
Indies.



fatal tariff policy in regard to sugar and molasses had been adopted by the British statesmen. As a result, therefore, of the strong community of interests with the mother country, the revolutionary spirit of the mainland made no headway in the islands. It was strictly continentals who were in rebellion.

Even in the revolting colonies the spirit of rebellion did not reflect the unanimous sentiment of the people. New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina were about evenly divided between the Loyalists, who took the British side of the dispute, and the Patriots, who supported rebellion. The Loyalists were sometimes called Tories from the name of the party in Great Britain which stood for the King's policy. In Georgia and South Carolina, where because of the planting interests there was to a large extent the same point of view as in the island colonies, the Loyalists were the more numerous body, but in the remaining eight colonies the Patriots predominated. John Adams estimated that one-third of the whole population of the thirteen colonies and more than one-third of the leading inhabitants were opposed to the Revolution.

The Loyalists in the revolting mainland colonies.

DEFIANCE OF GREAT BRITAIN ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER

The agitation in New England over the tariff, the stamp tax, and the presence of the British regulars, culminating in the spirit of war which had traveled like wildfire from one end of the long line of seaboard colonies to the other, was coincident with a movement farther west of a different nature but exemplifying the same spirit of independence. In the French and Indian War it had been possible for the British to rally the Americans against the French, because it was apparent that a victory for the French would inevitably result in shutting the Americans of the coast away from the coveted interior. Scarcely had the issue been decided against the French when the British King himself, in the Proclamation of 1763, did the very thing which had been feared from the enemy. In this proclamation King George III forbade his American subjects on the seaboard, although possessed of claims reaching to the Pacific under their sea-to-sea charters, to extend their boundaries beyond the mountains or to enter that territory which they had spilled their blood to win from the French. The interior of the country from Canada to the Gulf was reserved to the Indians.

The British proclamation of 1763.

The real object of the proclamation was as much to check the expansion of the colonies and render them more easy of British control, as it was to safeguard the welfare of the Indians and reconcile them to

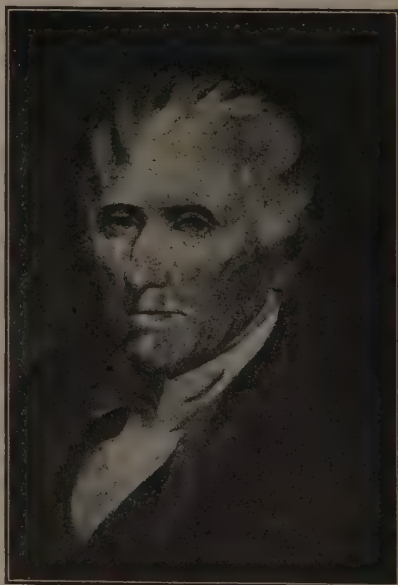
their new masters; but it availed nothing. The frontiersmen would not brook the unjust restrictions, and the southern part of the forbidden land slowly slipped away from the British by "manifest destiny," that is, by a natural working of forces that could not be checked. In the "back country" of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, the natural highways led to the southwest, and down these valleys and mountain passes, and over the Cumberland Mountains, by way of the Cumberland Gap, sturdy pioneers from the colonies, reënforced by the Scotch-Irish newcomers from Europe, in defiance of the King of Great Britain, took up their march to the third frontier. The Watauga River in the mountains of western North Carolina was reached by a small company under the leadership of John Sevier and James Robertson in 1769, and a number of settlements were established, which soon overflowed into what is now the state of Tennessee.

A forward movement under Daniel Boone pushed into the central part of what is now Kentucky, and delivered that region from the

**The begin-
nings of
Kentucky.** savages by a decisive victory over the Indian chief Cornstalk and his followers on the Kanawha River in 1774. The first town in Kentucky was named Lexington by the pioneers, in celebration of the battle of Concord and Lexington, news of which reached them as they were making their settlement. Tennessee was rid of the Indians by a decisive conflict on the Watauga two years later.

After the land had been cleared of the savages and more settlers had pushed into the country, the inevitable instinct of the frontier for self-government asserted

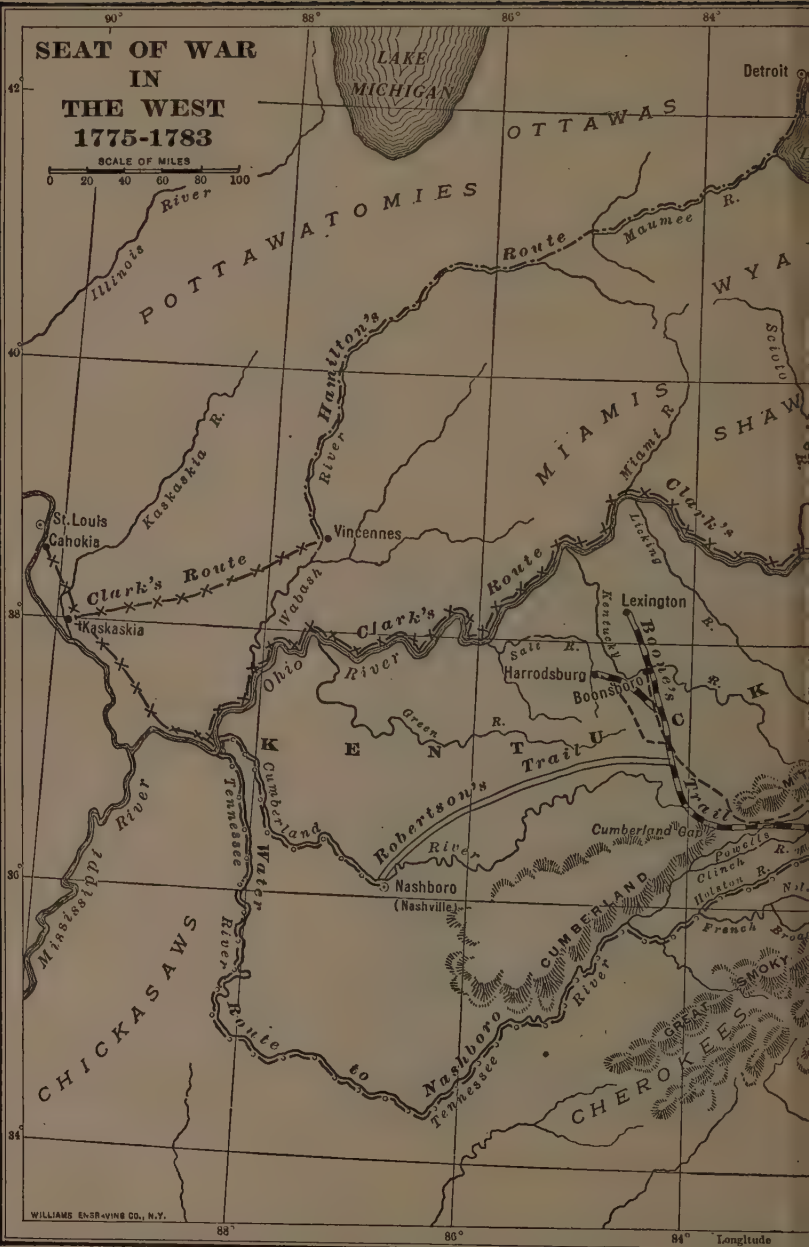
**The instinct
of self-gov-
ernment.** itself, and the settlers both of Kentucky and of Tennessee came together in their respective centers without permission of King, Parliament, or governor, elected their own officials, and made their own laws, while they were still nominally within the jurisdiction of Virginia

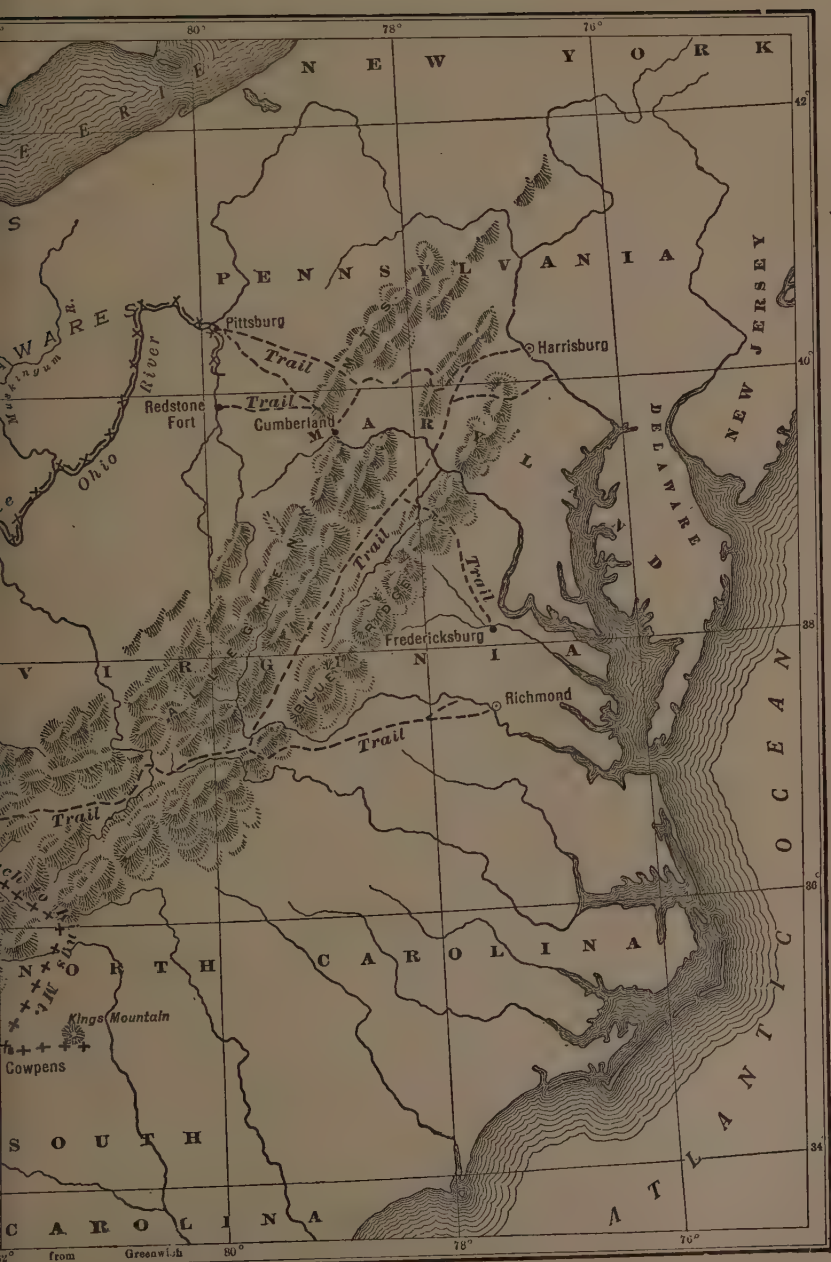


DANIEL BOONE

SEAT OF WAR IN THE WEST 1775-1783

SCALE OF MILES
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and North Carolina respectively. The southern part of this third and newest frontier was thus in open defiance of the mother country when the first shots of the Revolution were fired in Massachusetts.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

B.

In the midst of these stirring times on seaboard and inland frontier, the Second Continental Congress met at the call of the First Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, on the tenth of May, 1775, the day of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and continued its sessions, as the only national government of the colonies, throughout almost the entire war. Among the new members, who had not been present in the First Congress of 1774, were John Jay of New York, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. The Second Congress, like the first, was appointed and controlled by the revolutionary assemblies, conventions, and committees, and was dependent upon public opinion for sanction of its acts. As the only authorized agent of the united colonies, from military necessity it exercised powers for which there was no legal warrant. It reenacted the Association of the First Continental Congress; authorized ten companies of "expert riflemen" to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and ordered them to "march" and "join the army near Boston"; made rules for the government of the Revolutionary Army; ordered the expedition to Canada; issued paper money to the soldiers; set up a post office; appointed Washington and other officers to their positions in the army; sent off to the King the loyal "olive branch" petition from the pen of John Dickinson; and within three weeks after Bunker Hill, issued to the world a declaration of the causes and necessity of taking up arms, also written by John Dickinson.

The Second
Continental
Congress.

As early as July 21, 1775, the Congress began the consideration of a formal plan of union, proposed by Benjamin Franklin, who had also been the author of the Albany plan of union, to take the place of its irregular and informal mode of organization. In the press of matters requiring immediate attention, nothing was done until June, 1776, when a committee was appointed to draw up another plan. After long debate the final draft of the report of this committee, written by John Dickinson, was adopted in November, 1777, and sent to the states for ratification. Not until March, 1781, did Maryland, the last state, give its sanction to these Articles of Confederation, and not till then did they go into operation. This was within six months of the close of hostilities. Throughout

The new
national
government.

practically the whole struggle, therefore, Congress was without formal and legal basis for the exercise of its powers.

Even before the adoption of the Articles of Confederation for the national government, Congress advised the various colonies making up the new United States, to organize their individual state governments. British authority in the colonies had ceased simply because of the absence of British soldiers and the withdrawal of the loyal governors before the rising storm. The resistance of Governor Dunmore in Virginia was exceptional. Congress realized the need of regularly constituted authority in each colony, and recommended in May, 1776, "the respective assemblies and conventions of the United States, when no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such a government as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the people best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and of America in general."

Suddenly called upon in the crisis to assume the reins of their own government, the colonies displayed a conservatism that was admirable.

Two of the states, the corporate colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, found it sufficient merely to continue their colonial charters as constitutions, substituting the word "people" for "King." All the new state constitutions continued the colonial governor and legislature; and the latter body in almost every instance was made to consist of two houses, with the balance of power as formerly inclining to it rather than to the governor. In some states the governor was made dependent on the law-making branch for his appointment, in others he was to be elected by the people; in some he was not allowed to veto legislative enactments, in others he might exercise this power. The judges of the state courts were to be appointed by the legislatures, and were to hold their office during good behavior. The right to vote was quite generally restricted to the property-holding classes, and in some states to those possessing certain religious qualifications. Only from one-sixth to one-fiftieth of the population were allowed to exercise the right of suffrage, and this on the eve of the Declaration of Independence which was to proclaim that all men were created equal. Almost every state constitution contained a bill of rights, setting forth definitely "the rights of Englishmen," for which the colonists had always contended. None of the states submitted their new constitutions to the people for ratification, and in the election of delegates to the conventions that framed the constitutions, "the enemies of the liberties of America," the Loyalists, were generally not allowed to vote.

Upon receipt of the conciliatory addresses of the First Continental Congress in the early days of 1775, the House of Commons in London was the scene of a brilliant debate, in which William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham, Edmund Burke, and other Whigs mercilessly attacked the policy of the King and his ministers, and brought forward various schemes of reconciliation. The Prime Minister, Lord North, surprised his opponents by proposing to exempt from further taxation for the purposes of revenue any colony which of its own accord would contribute to the common defense of the empire and make a fixed appropriation to pay the salaries of its governor and judges. This measure passed both houses of Parliament, but how little it really meant may be judged from the attitude of Benjamin Franklin, the agent of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts in London, who left England for home, convinced that war was inevitable.

**The failure
of the con-
ciliatory at-
titude of
Great
Britain.**

In three months more the Second Continental Congress dispatched the last petition of the colonies, intrusting its delivery to Richard Penn, a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania, and for a reply received the royal proclamation that they were in rebellion. In that three months blood had been shed profusely in New England in open warfare, so that the proclamation would seem to have justification, though no war had been declared on either side. "The colonies . . . have at length proceeded to open and avowed rebellion, by arraying themselves in a hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us," ran the document; and all the king's officers and all the king's men were commanded "to suppress such rebellion, and to bring the traitors to justice . . . in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs." Parliament and the King proceeded to emphasize their warlike attitude toward the colonies by an act prohibiting all trade and intercourse with America.

**The British
proclamation
of rebellion.**

The King despaired of his ability to recruit a sufficient number of his own subjects to serve in the unpopular war against his colonies, and sent to Russia to hire soldiers there; but the Empress Catherine refused the request. King George next applied to the princes of some of the small German states, from whom he secured about thirty thousand men, later popularly known in America as Hessians, because most of them hailed from the little state of Hesse-Cassel. The news of the rejection of the petition of the Second Continental Congress, of the issuance of the King's proclamation, and of the hiring of the mercenaries reached America at about the same

**The German
mercenaries.**

time. "Well, brother rebel," said a Southerner to a fellow-member of Congress, "we have now got a sufficient answer to our petition; I want nothing more, but am ready to declare ourselves independent."

As a result of the fighting that had already taken place, of the assumption of national powers by the Continental Congress, of the revolutionary formation of new state governments that had already begun, and of the implacable and exasperating attitude of the mother country, the tide of public opinion was setting in fast in favor of independence.

Thomas
Paine's
"Common
Sense."

Thomas Paine, "a newly arrived Englishman," issued in January, 1776, one of the most important pamphlets in the nation's history, entitled "Common Sense." This was a stirring call for independence, professing to apply common sense to the undoubted difficulties of the situation. "The present state of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on and granted by courtesy, . . . independence is the only bond that can tie and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the wishes of an intriguing as well as a cruel enemy. We shall then be on a proper footing to treat with Britain; for there is reason to conclude, that the pride of that court will be less hurt by treating with the American states for terms of peace, than with those she denominates 'rebellious subjects,' for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war." One hundred thousand copies of this pamphlet were sold, and Washington spoke of it as "working a wonderful change (in Virginia) in the minds of men."

The Americans, who opposed the writs of assistance, the stamp tax, the Townshend Acts, and the "Intolerable Acts of 1774," were avowedly loyal subjects of King George III. They were opposing the government of the day, to be sure, but not the sovereignty of the British Empire. The Stamp Act

The growth
of the desire
for independ-
ence.

Congress, too, and the First Continental Congress, were loyal bodies. The first general movement toward open rebellion came a full year after Concord and Lexington. Only then did the statesmen of the Congress at Philadelphia finally commit the colonies to independence; and their action was accepted as the one possible step for lovers of liberty.

On the seventh of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved in Congress, "that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free

and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." The vote on the motion was postponed till the first of July, that time might be gained for winning over certain waverers; and meantime a committee, consisting of Thomas

The passage of the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston, was appointed to draw up a declaration to be reported and voted on, in case the resolution in question should be passed. Jefferson, then thirty-two years of age, proceeded to compose the document, which later was somewhat modified by Franklin and Adams. On the first of July, Lee's resolution was taken up and on the next day passed. On the fourth of July Jefferson's declaration was adopted, and was later signed by fifty-five members of the Congress.

"When in the Course of human events," ran the document, one of the greatest in history, "it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the Earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of nature

The wording of the Declaration.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Where the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness." A long catalogue follows of the abuses suffered at the hands of the King, to prove that Great Britain had "failed to secure these rights." "We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

These ideas of the rights of man and the obligations of government were not new with Jefferson. The English writers, Richard Hooker,

**Origin of the
ideas of the
Declaration
on the rights
of man.**

John Milton, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke, and the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and many others, had expressed similar sentiments, which Jefferson had doubtless read. Jefferson's own contemporaries, Samuel Adams and James Otis in Massachusetts, had often spoken and written in the same vein. The greatness of the Declaration of Independence lies not in its originality, therefore, but, first, in the fact that it states the theories of popular government in simple English that will endure, and, second, in the fact that its author spoke not merely as the student of political theory, but as the exponent of the spirit of America, the spirit of self-government as it had been worked out in a hundred and fifty years of frontier struggle.

The independence of the British colonies had been prophesied by acute observers. In 1730 the Frenchman, Montesquieu, expressed

**Prophecies
of independ-
ence.**

the belief that Great Britain would some day lose her colonies. In 1748 the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, wrote: "I have been told by Englishmen, and not only by

such as were born in America, but even by such as came from Europe, that the English colonies in North America, in the space of thirty or fifty years, would be able to form a state by themselves, entirely independent of Old England." The French statesman, Turgot, once compared colonies to fruit which remains on the stem until it is ripe, and after the peace of Paris in 1763 another French statesman wrote: "England will soon repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection. She will call on them to contribute toward the burdens they have helped bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Give the arguments for and against the stamp tax. What had there been in George Washington's civil and military career before 1775 to fit him for leadership during the Revolution? Explain the leading charges against Great Britain enumerated in the

Declaration of Independence. What more remote causes of the Revolution can you give? How did the attitude of the Stamp Act Congress toward Great Britain differ from that of the Second Continental Congress? Explain this difference. Did the British Parliament have the right to pass the Intolerable Acts of 1774? On what grounds did the Americans object to them? Would the Americans have been satisfied with taxation with representation? Is the Union older than the states? Why did Great Britain change its policy toward the colonies after 1763? In what respects was the colonial policy of Great Britain in America in the seventeenth century similar to that of France, and in what respects was it different? What changes were there in the two policies in the eighteenth century?

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE CAMPAIGNS AROUND NEW YORK

AFTER his success in delivering the capital of Massachusetts, Washington transferred his army to the vicinity of New York City, in an effort to render that stronghold secure from the enemy. It was while he was in New York that he made the announcement to his army of the Declaration of Independence, which the soldiers and citizens celebrated by tearing down the leaden statue of George III on Bowling Green and melting it into bullets. He proceeded to fortify a position on Long Island, overlooking New York. The British fleet under Lord Howe and the British army under General Howe, who had brought his forces back from Halifax, were arrayed against him in overwhelming numbers. Like Prescott at Bunker Hill, Washington suffered defeat at Brooklyn Heights, the first engagement of the New York campaign, but, like him, succeeded in drawing off his army in safety, first to Manhattan Island and then north into the country beyond. Before abandoning New York the American commander seriously considered burning the city, in order to prevent the enemy from enjoying any advantage in its possession, but the plan was not carried out; and to the end of the war New York remained in the hands of the British. General Howe was severely criticized for allowing Washington to escape him here, for with the superior British forces he should have been able to command both the land and the water routes of the American retreat. The country north of New York, including Forts Washington and Lee on the Hudson, fell into the hands of the British as far as West Point, but this key to the Valley of the Hudson the Americans succeeded in retaining.

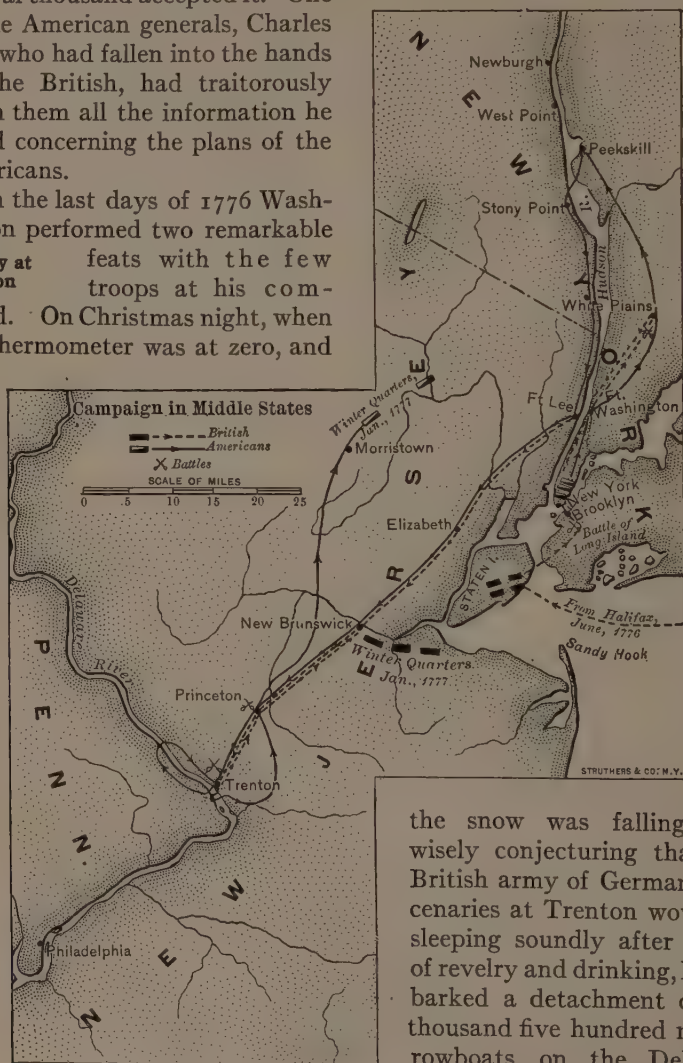
Washington's defeat on Long Island.

Retreating up the east side of the Hudson to a point just beyond White Plains and then across the river, the American commander, unable to risk a battle, turned southward to New Jersey and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. The courage of the patriots was at low ebb. The militia were abandoning Washington because their terms of service were at an end, and his losses

The retreat from New York.

around New York had reduced the troops at his command to a few thousand. The British issued a pardon to all who would submit, and several thousand accepted it. One of the American generals, Charles Lee, who had fallen into the hands of the British, had traitorously given them all the information he could concerning the plans of the Americans.

In the last days of 1776 Washington performed two remarkable feats with the few troops at his command. On Christmas night, when the thermometer was at zero, and



the snow was falling fast, wisely conjecturing that the British army of German mercenaries at Trenton would be sleeping soundly after a day of revelry and drinking, he embarked a detachment of two thousand five hundred men in rowboats on the Delaware shore and made for the Trenton

shore. The current was swift, the ice cakes threatening, but he got his men across and fought a short and decisive conflict of less than

an hour. After a score of their men had been slain, the entire body of one thousand Hessians surrendered. The patriot loss was two killed in battle, two frozen to death, and a few injured.

Now came the British general Cornwallis upon the scene to turn the tables. "At last we have run down the old fox and will bag him in the morning," said he, and sent his army to sleep for a much-needed rest. While the British slept, "the old fox" slipped away under cover of darkness, leaving behind him burning camp-fires to deceive the enemy, and won a victory over a strong British force at Princeton, a few miles away. As the news of these achievements spread over the country the fainting patriot heart took new courage.

The rest of the winter of 1776-1777 Washington spent with his army undisturbed at Morristown Heights, west of New York, near enough to disturb the British line of communications, if the latter should make a sudden move on Philadelphia. It was a dark period for the Americans. Washington reorganized his dwindling army and pledged his own private fortune to sustain his men. Other generals did the same, while Robert Morris, a merchant of Philadelphia, raised a subscription of fifty thousand dollars in cash, which he placed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief. "These are the times that try men's souls," wrote Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense," in the first of a series of pamphlets called the "Crisis," which he issued from time to time during the war. "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in the crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

The winter camp at Morristown Heights, 1776-1777.

THE PHILADELPHIA AND SARATOGA CAMPAIGNS

In the spring of 1777 General Howe set out by water from New York for Chesapeake Bay to attempt the capture of Philadelphia from the south. Washington opposed him at the Brandywine River in southeastern Pennsylvania, and at Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia, but could not prevent him from occupying the city, then the capital of the new United States.

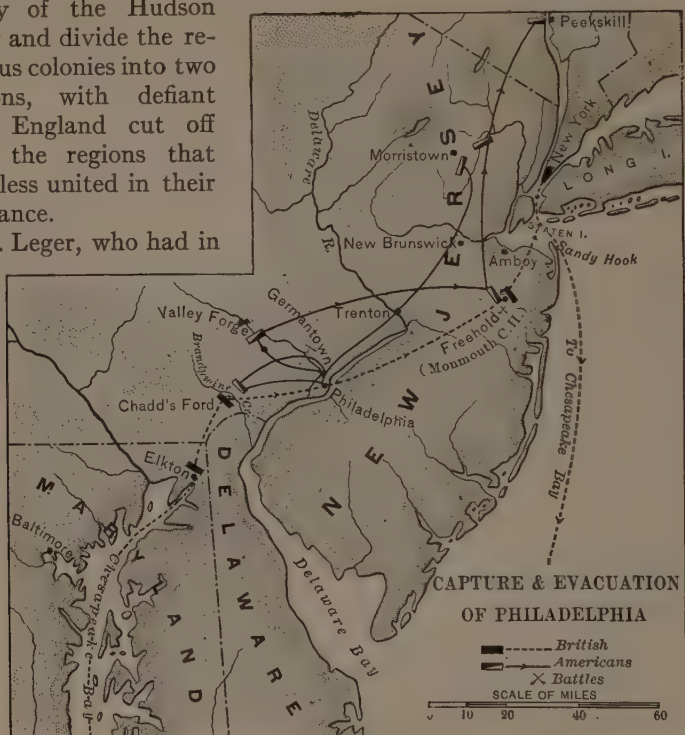
The British capture of Philadelphia.

In northern New York the British were not so successful as around New York and Philadelphia. In accordance with a plan of campaign conceived in London, Colonel St. Leger with a force of two thousand men was to march east from Lake Ontario through the valley of the Mohawk River in the state of New York, General Burgoyne at the head of nine thousand men was to come south from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, and

The British plan of campaign in the North.

General Howe was to move north from New York City with eighteen thousand men, the three columns to converge toward a point somewhere in the vicinity of Albany. The design was to gain possession of the Valley of the Hudson River and divide the rebellious colonies into two sections, with defiant New England cut off from the regions that were less united in their resistance.

St. Leger, who had in



his command British regulars, Tories from central New York, and Iroquois Indians, was repulsed by Herkimer in the bloody battle of Oriskany at the headwaters of the Mohawk, and in August, 1777, was finally turned back at Fort Stanwix by Herkimer and Arnold. Howe failed to receive his orders in proper time and went off to the capture of Philadelphia, where he was kept busy throughout the summer by the maneuvering of Washington and prevented from joining Burgoyne after the orders for that movement finally reached him. Burgoyne was left to operate alone against the northern army of the Americans, which had retreated from Canada after their failure to take Quebec and was now under the command of General Schuyler in the vicinity of Lake Champlain.

**The failure
of the
plan.**

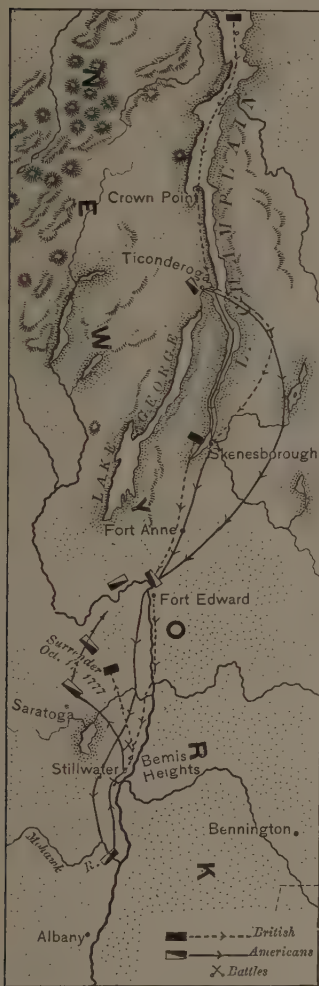
After falling back from Canada in the early months of 1776 Schuyler's army had lost Crown Point, and now in 1777, before the oncoming of Burgoyne, was forced to give up Ticonderoga as well as Fort Edward on the Hudson. The way seemed to be opening to the invaders. Burgoyne, however, like St. Leger, employed savages, whose cruelty aroused the anger of the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside and contributed greatly to his final undoing. Trees were felled in his path by the zealous patriots, roads and bridges destroyed, and his supplies cut off.

In desperation Burgoyne sent a force of German mercenaries and Indians to overpower the citizen-soldiers at Bennington, Vermont, and capture their stores; but the expedition was met and utterly put to rout by hastily gathered volunteers under Colonel Stark. Two hundred of the thousand Germans engaged were killed or wounded and seven hundred captured.

The battle of Bennington.

Cut off from reënforcements from St. Leger and Howe and weakened at Bennington, the situation of Burgoyne became critical. Schuyler, who planned the campaign against him, now fell a victim to the jealousy of certain members of Congress and was superseded by the inefficient General Gates on the very eve of victory. The Americans met the desperate British in two engagements on the Hudson near Lake Saratoga, the first of which proved indecisive and the second a complete victory for the Americans, a victory which was largely due to

Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.



SCALE OF MILES

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BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

General Benedict Arnold's superb leadership. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered his entire force of six thousand men.

The victory of Saratoga has been recognized as one of the "decisive battles of the world." The French, since their humiliating losses in the French and Indian War, had been burning for revenge on the British, and were now pleased to see the apparent breaking up of the American empire of their rivals. The achievements of Herkimer, Arnold, Schuyler, and Gates and their final victory aroused great enthusiasm in Paris. France concluded a treaty of amity and commerce and another of alliance with the struggling states, which she recognized as a free and independent nation. The timely intervention proved the turning point of the war for the United States, for it not only greatly encouraged the new nation, but also secured to them supplies of French guns, ammunition, and clothing, and ultimately the assistance of the French army and navy. The success of the negotiations leading up to the French-American treaties was due largely to Benjamin Franklin, one of the three American representatives in Paris at the time.

The Frenchman, Marquis de Lafayette, not yet twenty years of age, had enlisted as a volunteer under Washington without pay before the treaties were concluded; and like him came the German soldiers. De Kalb and Von Steuben and the two Polish nobles, Kosciusko and Pulaski, soldiers of fortune in defense of liberty, who proved of great service in organizing and drilling the new American recruits.

Spain and Holland soon joined France in a coalition against their old rival, so that Great Britain found three European powers arrayed against her in Europe, at the very moment she was fighting in America to retain her colonial possessions.

The full significance of the surrender at Saratoga and of the French-American alliance was not lost on the Parliament of Great Britain. Lord North, whose compromise measures of 1775 had failed signally, was still the Prime Minister. Under his leadership the Coercive Acts of 1774 were repealed, the tax on tea abandoned, and the right to tax the colonies renounced. The Taxation of the Colonies Act of 1778, which still governs Great Britain's relations with her colonies in this matter, provided that Parliament "will not impose any duty, tax or assessment whatever, payable in any of His Majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North America or the West Indies; except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony, province, or plantation, in which the same shall be respectively levied, in such manner as other duties collected by



FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE

the authority of the respective general courts, or general assemblies, of such colonies, provinces or plantations, are ordinarily paid and applied." Three commissioners crossed the Atlantic on a mission of peace to offer these concessions and to give assurance that Great Britain would never again send troops to America without the consent of the local assemblies, and that America might send representatives to the British Parliament. Practically all the original contentions of the colonies were granted, but independence was the only condition under which the Americans would now lay down their arms, and the mission ended in failure.

Before the French supplies arrived, Washington and his men passed the winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill River, twenty-four miles above Philadelphia, in great suffering, without proper food and without shoes and blankets. Washington said of the sufferings of his men at this time that "their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet." At least three thousand Americans deserted to the comfortable British quarters in Philadelphia, where the enemy were passing a winter of ease and gaiety.

The winter camp at Valley Forge, 1777-1778.

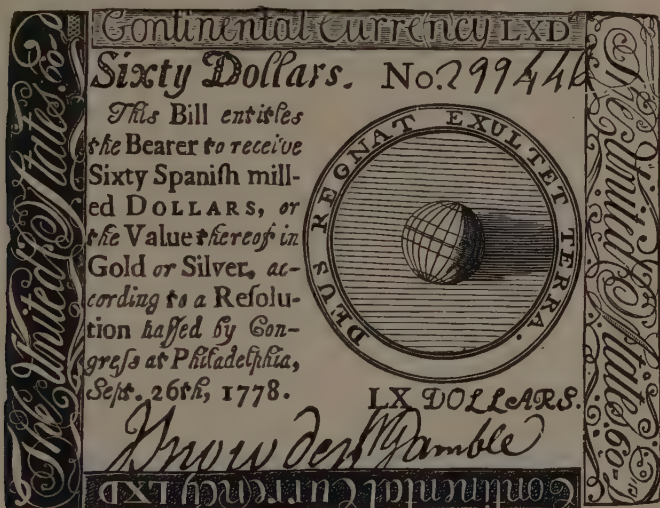
In the midst of the general depression occurred a miserable plot, known as Conway's Cabal, among certain generals and members of the Continental Congress, to displace Washington as commander-in-chief. Fortunately the plot failed and left the commander stronger than ever in the esteem of his country.

Conway's Cabal.

The discouraging state of the national finances.

A most discouraging feature in this crisis of the war was the state of the national finances. Money in the colonies had always been in a confused state; English money was most commonly used, but money of other countries was in circulation, particularly the Spanish dollar. When the Continental Congress faced the financial problem, it met with almost insuperable difficulties. The currency issued and in general use during the war consisted of Congress's promises to pay, printed on paper but unsecured by gold back of them. Very poor money it proved to be, for its value changed from day to day according to the amount of confidence felt by the people in the ability of Congress ever to make good its promises. Measured in gold, a dollar's worth of the paper money might become worth only a few cents if the people felt that the credit of Congress was poor; and on the other hand, when more confidence was felt in the ability of Congress to meet its obligations, the value of the notes rose. The states, too, issued such money, and it has been estimated that the total face value of the notes put into circulation by Congress and the states together during the Revolution-

ary War reached \$450,000,000. Concerning their depreciation Washington sadly declared that it took a wagonload of money to buy a load of provisions. A barber in Philadelphia papered his shop with the bills to show his contempt for them.



CONTINENTAL MONEY

Six months in Philadelphia convinced Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in command of the British, that the mere possession of the rebel capital did his cause little good, and learning that a French fleet under Count d'Estaing was crossing the ocean, he marched back to New York in the spring of 1778, undisturbed by Washington save at the battle of Monmouth. Here the battle was lost to the Americans through the treasonable negligence and disobedience of Charles Lee, who was again in the American army by the exchange of prisoners, his treason having been undiscovered, and was in immediate command of the American forces engaged. Lee was tried by court martial, suspended from command, and later dismissed from the army in disgrace. After Monmouth, to the end of the war, the only other important battle in the northeast was the thrilling capture of Stony Point on the Hudson by General Anthony Wayne in 1779. This attack was ordered by Washington, in order to draw the British troops away from a marauding expedition into Connecticut. When Clinton and the British reached New York, Washington settled down on guard

The British retreat from Philadelphia to New York.

over the city and remained there three years, fighting no battles and giving his army little to do beyond keeping a close watch on the intrenched British.

WAR IN VARIOUS QUARTERS

While Washington's army was besieging New York, the Americans were not inactive elsewhere. Scarcely a week after Monmouth, the beautiful Wyoming Valley in the northern part of Pennsylvania, which had been settled by New Englanders from Connecticut, was the scene of a terrible British-Indian massacre. The fourth of July, which came the day after the massacre, disclosed a scene such as the frontier had seldom witnessed, causing a shudder of sympathy from Maine to Georgia. Hundreds of settlers went to their death under the most exquisite torture that the Indian fiends could invent. The attacking party came out of New York State, where a few months later they fell upon more victims in Cherry Valley.

Washington determined to put a stop to these outrages. In the summer of 1779 he sent an army of five thousand men under General Sullivan to devastate the entire Iroquois country of western New York, and seldom have instructions been more faithfully carried out. After a battle on the present site of the city of Elmira, the lands of the Indians were laid waste for miles around, their crops destroyed, forty of their villages burned, and the inhabitants themselves put to flight. The Mohawks fled to the northern shores of Lake Erie in Canada; the lands of two other tribes were purchased by the state of New York, and their owners scattered to various parts of Canada and later to Michigan and even to Indian Territory; and remnants to this day still inhabit Indian reservations throughout central and western New York. Thus pass from the history of the United States the mighty Iroquois, who had been a tower of strength first to the Dutch and then to the British against all their enemies. Their loyalty to Great Britain remained to the end, but it does not redound to the credit of the mother country, that as she waged the struggle against the revolting colonies she called savages to her aid, knowing, from her experiences in the French and Indian Wars, the nature of the fighting to be expected from the Indians. The British claimed that the Americans also employed the Indians, but very few instances of this can be found. In almost every community the red men were hostile to the colonists.

We have seen how the country south of the Ohio River gradually filled in with settlers in defiance of the Crown, and how the settlers

Indian outrages in Pennsylvania and New York.

General Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois.

there organized their own independent governments. When the spirit of war seized these energetic Americans of the wilderness, like their brothers on the seaboard they turned their thoughts almost at once to the conquest of the adjoining British lands to the north. A leader arose in the person of George Rogers Clark, a pioneer of Kentucky, scarcely twenty years of age, who conceived the bold project of organizing a band and pushing into the country north of the Ohio, which the British had incorporated in the province of Quebec and had fortified at Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Detroit, and other points. Governor Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and other leaders in Virginia.

George Rogers Clark's conquest of the country north of the Ohio River.



OHIO FLATBOAT WITH SUPERSTRUCTURE OF ROUGH LUMBER

Craft of this sort were used by families who intended to use the lumber for house building after reaching their destinations.

which state had claims on the lands northwest of the Ohio, approved Clark's plan, and the legislature of Virginia voted him twelve hundred dollars, and full authority to enlist in the name of the state three hundred and fifty men for his enterprise. In boldness of conception and execution the expedition well reflected the spirit of the men of the West. Down the Monongahela to the Ohio the little band proceeded, down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and thence north on that river to Kaskaskia and Cahokia in the present state of Illinois, nowhere meeting resistance worthy of the name. To dispossess Colonel Hamilton, the British commander, who in haste had made a long march from Detroit to Vincennes on the Wabash, Clark and his men made their way in the dead of winter through water, snow, and ice, across the "drowned lands" of southern Illinois, and conquered the garrison at Vincennes. The first territorial expansion in the history of the United States had been accomplished.

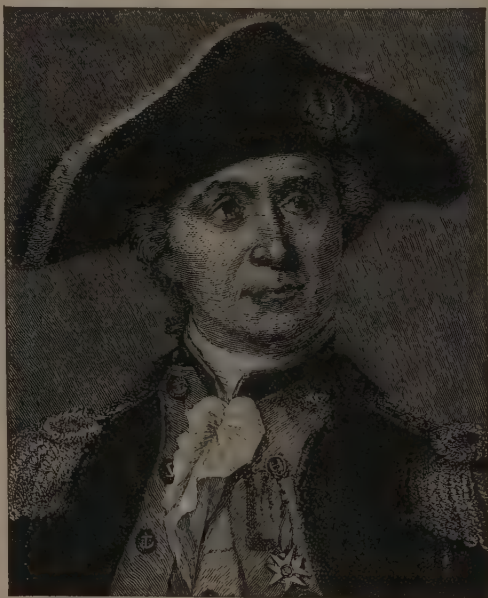
On seven subsequent occasions the United States has extended its borders to include new territory, but none of these expansions has surpassed the first either in importance or in romantic interest. By Clark's conquest, ratified later in the treaty of peace, the new nation took over land wrested by the British from the French in 1763. In view of their treaty of alliance with the French, it required skillful diplomacy on the part of the Americans to preserve unimpaired friendship with their allies and at the same time prevent the latter from acquiring again their lost lands.

In another part of the world, John Paul Jones, a

John Paul Jones, founder of the United States navy. young Scotch immigrant, by his exploits first

brought the naval power of the United States to the attention of the world and made himself the father of the American navy. After ravaging the coast of Great Britain in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and damaging her ocean

commerce, he fought with the British vessel *Serapis* "one of the most obstinate and murderous struggles recorded in naval history," in which more than half those engaged were either killed or wounded. In the midst of the battle Jones ran his vessel close up to that of his antagonist in order that he might lash the two vessels together for close hand-to-hand fighting. "Have you struck your colors?" called out the British captain, and the reply came back, "I have not yet begun to fight." The *Serapis* surrendered, but the *Bon Homme Richard*, on fire and with six feet of water in her hold at the time of her victory, sank in a few hours. As the story of the encounter spread, it shed upon the little American navy a distinction like that attained by the army at Saratoga.



JOHN PAUL JONES

By far the greatest damage done to the British on the sea was the work of privateers. A privateer is a vessel of war, privately owned, equipped, and manned, and authorized by the government to sail against the commerce of the enemy for the sake of booty. The privateers. Hundreds of American privateers preyed upon the commerce of the British, and the British retaliated in kind. The special object of attack by the American boats was the rich British trade in the West Indies, which suffered terribly. It has been estimated that in the first year of the war the total damage inflicted on the enemy in this way amounted to £1,800,000. By the end of the second year, six hundred British and nine hundred American vessels had suffered capture, and by the close of the war the figure must have reached thousands on both sides. Fortunes were made by the successful privateers, while patriots on land were sickening and dying in the army. Had there been no such attractions on the sea, it would undoubtedly have been easier to enlist men in the army, yet the money flowing into the country from the successful privateering ventures helped to furnish the sinews of war, and the privateers distinctly aided the American cause by inspiring in the British merchants a desire for peace.

Not every vessel taken by privateers was held. Many, with their cargoes, were released upon their captains' signing agreements to pay ransom money at the end of the war and giving hostages to guarantee the payment of the money. Customs of privateers. When the war was at an end, these agreements were impartially enforced by the courts of both nations.

A gloomy incident in American history darkened the year 1780. As an accomplished and deserving officer, who had served his country well around Boston, in Canada, and in the Saratoga campaign, Benedict Arnold was one of the heroes of the war. Benedict Arnold, traitor. At Saratoga he was severely wounded, but in 1778, upon recovery of his strength, he was placed by Washington in command of Philadelphia after the British abandoned that city for New York. The command was an important one, but it did not fully satisfy the ambition of Arnold, who, though he had been made a major general early in 1777, was piqued by the more rapid promotion of others. Charges of improper conduct at his new post, involving extravagance and possible corruption, were made against Arnold, for which he was tried by court martial, convicted, and reprimanded, as mildly as possible, by the commander-in-chief. The proud spirit of the soldier revolted at the disgrace, and already planning revenge, he sought and secured from Washington the command of the important post of West Point on the Hudson, with the treasonable intention of

surrendering it to the enemy. If this could be accomplished, the splitting of the territory of the Americans which Burgoyne had sought at Saratoga would be accomplished, and that which the patriot Arnold had then had a hand in preventing by his bravery would now



JOHN ANDRÉ

Drawn by himself the night before his execution.

be brought about by his treachery. Presently a young British officer, John André, came into the American lines below West Point and with Arnold planned in secret the details of the proposed surrender. On his way back to the British lines, André was taken into custody near Tarrytown by three Americans, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert, who found on his person papers which fully disclosed the plot. "Arnold is a traitor and has fled to the British! Whom can we trust now?" said Washington to his officers, with tears streaming down his cheeks, as he came riding into West Point a few hours later.

Arnold made good his escape to the British, but André was hanged as a spy. Four years before, the British in New York had captured and hanged as a spy young Nathan Hale, whom Washington had sent within their lines to gather information. "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country," said he to a British officer shortly before his execution, while André's last words were a request that he be shot and not hanged.

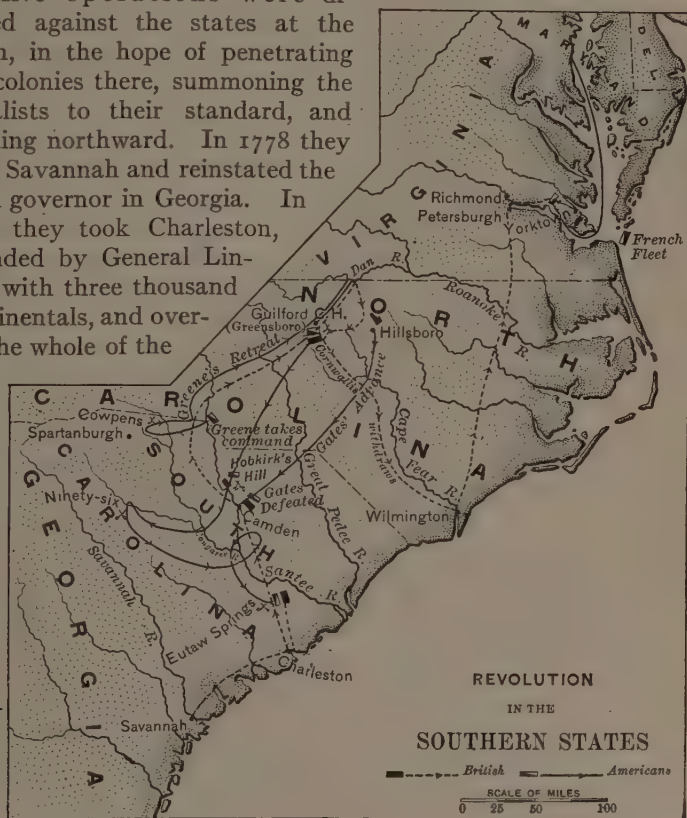
In the service of the British the revengeful Arnold led marauding expeditions against the coast of Virginia and against that of his native state of Connecticut. After the war was over, with his wife and family he took up his residence in London. His sons entered the British army, where they rendered distinguished service. The story is told that Arnold, filled with remorse, called for his old uniform with its epaulets, as he was about to die, and put it on, saying, "Let me die in this old uniform in which I fought my battles. May God forgive me for putting on any other!"

Arnold on the side of the British.

The fate of André.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS, ENDING AT YORKTOWN

British in-
vasion in the
South.



state of South Carolina. At first the chief resistance came from small isolated bands of patriots fighting in guerrilla warfare under the commanders, Pickens, Marion, and Sumter. Small reënforcements arrived from the North before the surrender of Charleston, and after that event came more northern troops and General Gates to succeed General Lincoln in command. At Camden, in the central part of South

Carolina, the new commander met with humiliating defeat and great losses at the hands of Cornwallis.

Pushing on from this victory to the invasion of North Carolina, Cornwallis sent a division of one thousand Tories under Major Ferguson to scour the highlands of the western part of the state for more Tory recruits. The backwoodsmen there, however, proved more devoted to the patriot cause than was expected, and to the number of one thousand came together at the first warning under Sevier and other pioneer leaders, to resist the invasion. It was like the gathering of the minutemen at Concord and Lexington and of the citizen soldiers at Bennington, and with similar results, for Ferguson's entire force of twelve hundred men was entrapped at King's Mountain, just over the line in North Carolina, in October, 1780, and killed, wounded, or captured to the last man. The American loss was inconsiderable.

Reënforcements for the patriots poured in from the North. The chief command of the southern army was taken from General Gates and given to General Nathanael Greene, an able commander, who immediately divided his little army that he might harry Cornwallis on both his flanks. The latter, in self-defense, also divided his army, and the two western detachments of the opposing forces met at the Cowpens in western North Carolina, where the Americans under General Morgan overwhelmed the enemy under Tarleton in almost as complete a rout as befell Ferguson at King's Mountain. A mere handful of the British escaped. The victory was largely due to the American cavalry, a branch of the service which till then had been little used in the war.

Greene himself now took charge of Morgan's victorious men, in a desperate attempt to unite them with the other detachment of the Americans operating on the east of Cornwallis. He succeeded in effecting the desired junction by a rapid march to the north; and in so doing he contrived to decoy Cornwallis across the entire state of North Carolina to the Virginia line, far from his base of supplies at Charleston, South Carolina. A drawn battle was fought at Guilford Court House in North Carolina, where the Americans again availed themselves of cavalry; after which Cornwallis, not daring to attempt the march overland to Charleston, withdrew into Virginia to join the British forces harassing that state. Greene wisely refused to follow the enemy farther, but returned southward. Here he soon recovered all the outlying country, and effectually cooped up the British garrison in Charleston, where it remained till the end of the war. Camden was retrieved.

The battle of King's Mountain.

The battle of Cowpens.

General Greene's great strategy.

After some maneuvering against Lafayette, who was in command of the Americans in Virginia, Cornwallis settled down at Yorktown, Virginia, in just such a foolish situation as that taken by the Americans at Breed's Hill at the outset of the war. He chose a position near the coast on the narrow peninsula between the York and the James Rivers, with water on three sides, staking all on the ability of the British to bring him aid from New York by sea. The French fleet, however, under de Grasse, approached from the West Indies, fought off the British fleet in a fierce engagement, and prevented Cornwallis's escape from his predicament by water, while Washington with four thousand French soldiers under Rochambeau and two thousand Americans executed a rapid movement from the vicinity of New York by land and water, joined his reënforcements to the army of Lafayette, and cut off the British retreat up the peninsula. After fierce fighting, Cornwallis surrendered his entire force of 7000 men, October 17, four years after Burgoyne had surrendered 6000 men at Saratoga. Formal surrender came on October 19, 1781. Greene's masterly campaign in the Carolinas, Washington's equally wonderful movement from New York, and the timely aid of the French had saved the day.

**The British
surrender at
Yorktown.**



SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150 200

WASHINGTON'S MOVEMENT TO YORKTOWN

Yorktown ended hostilities so far as the United States was concerned, but Great Britain's European enemies continued the war against her. The French admiral, de Grasse, had captured all the British islands in the West Indies with the exception of Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua, and the fate of these three islands as well as of the eight already won, hung in the balance in a naval battle between de Grasse and the British under Admiral Rodney in April, 1782. On the coast of Virginia off Yorktown de Grasse had worsted the British fleet and helped to bring about the loss of the revolting continental colonies, and if he could worst the same

**The war in
the West
Indies.**

fleet a second time the British island empire in American waters would likewise disappear. Seventy ships of war were engaged for over eleven hours, "in one of the most tremendous contests ever witnessed on the ocean before the time of Nelson." Five thousand men were either killed or wounded, the French power in the islands anni-



THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

From an old print. In the background is Yorktown, from which the British troops under Lord Cornwallis are emerging. The British appear to be marching straight between Washington's Army on the hillside and the French forces near the water. The warships belong to the French squadron under Count de Grasse.

hilated, and the British islands saved. "Brittania rules the waves," the British could still boast, grateful that the rich islands had been saved from the wreck of their American colonial empire. If Rodney's victory over the French had come before Yorktown, who knows what courage to hold out might have been inspired in the British?

More than a year before his defeat of the French under de Grasse, Rodney and his fleet had captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius and carried away a booty of \$20,000,000. Referring to the trade between this island and the mainland colonies, the admiral declared that "this rock, only six miles in length and three in breadth, had done England more harm than all the arms of her most potent enemies, and alone supported the infamous American rebellion."

The end of
the war in
Europe.

In the course of the summer of 1782, the British overcame the Spaniards at Gibraltar, in Spain, and thus maintained their possession of that stronghold.

PEACE

Not till after Yorktown would George III yield to the majority of his subjects in regard to America. In making military appointments, in working out the details of military operations, and in the general conduct of the war, he had directed the policy of the government, his ministers serving merely as his agents. Even the Prime Minister, Lord North, to whom it fell to execute the orders of the King, was at heart opposed to the war, as has since been revealed in his published correspondence. For five years that minister, to please his royal master, consented to carry on a bloody conflict contrary to the dictates of his own judgment. After the surrender of Burgoyne the nation turned to Pitt, the savior of the country in the crisis of the Seven Years' War, and demanded his appointment as Prime Minister, but the King refused. "This episode," says Lecky, "appears to me to be the most criminal in the whole reign of George III, and in my judgment it is as criminal as many of those acts which led Charles to the scaffold." When the surrender of Cornwallis became known in Great Britain, the people could see nothing but the decline of the British Empire, and were plunged into the deepest gloom. To such a pass had George's policy of being "every inch a King," brought his country. In obedience to the will of his angered subjects the King at last allowed North to resign, in March, 1782. The Whig Prime Minister to succeed him was Lord Rockingham and, at his death in the following July, Lord Shelburne, who brought with themselves into office other Whig friends of America and negotiated the treaty of peace. This was the end of royal control of the British cabinet. From that day to this no monarch has dared to keep in office ministers who do not possess the confidence of the people. The loss of her American colonies, therefore, profoundly influenced the form of the British government.

The constitutional crisis in Great Britain.

The peace commissioners of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, minister to France, John Adams, another representative of the United States in France, John Jay, minister to Spain, and, at the very end of the negotiations, Henry Laurens, met the British representatives at Paris, and concluded the treaty of peace in 1783. Says Lecky: "It is impossible not to be struck with the skill, hardihood, and good fortune that marked the American negotiations. Everything that the United States could with any shadow of plausibility demand from England they obtained, . . . England emerged from the struggle with a diminished empire and a vastly augmented debt, and her ablest statesmen believed and said that the days of her

The peace negotiations.

greatness were over. But America, though she had been reduced by the war to almost the lowest stage of impoverishment and impotence, gained at the peace almost everything that she desired, and started with every promise of future greatness upon the mighty career that was before her."

The independence of the United States was recognized by the treaty, and her boundaries made to extend from the Atlantic Ocean and the St. Croix River on the east to the Mississippi River on the west, and from the forty-fifth parallel, the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Lake of the Woods on the north to the northern boundary of Florida on the south. This last line ran from the Mississippi along the thirty-first parallel to the Chattahoochee, then down that river to the Flint, and in a straight line to the St. Mary's, thence along that river to the sea. It was agreed that the Americans as well as the British were to enjoy the right to fish on the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland, and to land and cure their fish on certain neighboring coasts. The United States promised that there should be no impediment offered to the collection of all *bona fide* debts, and that they would recommend to the various states that they pass relief acts for the Loyalists. Both nations were to have the right to navigate the Mississippi, which right had been granted by Spain to Great Britain in 1763.

In a separate treaty with Spain, Great Britain retained Gibraltar, recompensing Spain by allowing her to hold Florida, while in a treaty with France the French and British islands were in general restored to their status before the war. In a British-Dutch treaty most of the conquests on either side were restored.

On April 19, 1783, eight years after the battle of Concord and Lexington, Washington declared the war over; the treaty of peace was signed September 3 of the same year, and on November 23 the last British soldiers left the seaboard. "The times that try men's souls are over, and the greatest and completest revolution that the world ever knew gloriously and happily accomplished," concluded Paine in the last number of "The Crisis."

During the war the lot of those who had remained loyal to the mother country was a hard one. In civil life they waged many a bitter political struggle, usually only to their own humiliation. They were disarmed, driven away from the polls on voting days, ridden on rails, tarred and feathered, their houses and barns burned, and their property confiscated. New York State alone seized Loyalist property to the value of about

The treaty of peace.

Other British treaties.

The complete restoration of peace.

The fate of the Loyalists during the war.



\$3,000,000. It was observed that some of the fiercest fighting of the war took place when the patriots confronted their former neighbors in the British ranks.

Whenever the British troops withdrew from any quarter large bands of Loyalists followed them. Fifteen hundred left Boston with Howe in March, 1776, and three thousand abandoned Philadelphia with Clinton in 1778. When, in 1783, the last of the British forces left the shores of the country, Loyalists by the

The Loyalists
as refugees.



FRAUNCES' TAVERN, NEW YORK

Here Washington took leave of his officers, December 4, 1783. From an etching by Wm. Sartain.

thousand gave up friends, fortunes, and homes, and went into exile. It has been estimated that the United States by this movement lost one hundred thousand citizens to Canada, the West Indies, and Great Britain. Ultimately Great Britain distributed over \$15,000,000 among these refugees by way of relief. The thousands of Loyalists who still remained in their homes in every state were destined to furnish the basis of a critical and conservative class in the new nation.

The Loyalists founded Ontario in Canada, and contributed many thousands to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In these portions of Canada to-day is the flourishing society of United Empire Loyalists, composed of the descendants of the first refugees and comparable to the Sons of the American Revolution in the United States. Says a Canadian writer: "It is but truth to say that the Loyalists, that is, the Tories of the American Revolu-

The Loyal-
ist exodus
to Canada.

tion, were the makers of Canada. They were an army of leaders. . . . Canada owes deep gratitude to her southern kinsmen, who thus, from Maine to Georgia, picked out their choicest spirits and sent them forth to people our northern wilds."

Over against this defection of native-born citizens is to be set the loyalty of many foreigners, who had but recently arrived from Europe.

The patriotic
stand of the
newly arrived
immigrants.

John Paul Jones, Thomas Paine, and thousands who served in the ranks as privates were as thoroughgoing Americans as if they had sprung from the soil of the country. Joseph

Galloway, speaker of the house of assembly in Pennsylvania, a Loyalist with views that may have been colored by partisanship, declared that one-fourth of the American army was American, one-half Irish, and one-fourth English and Scotch. Lecky gives it as his opinion that "adventurous immigrants who had lately poured in by thousands from Ireland and Scotland . . . ultimately bore the chief part in the war of independence." He proceeds to point out, however, that in the beginning of the war, most of the soldiers came from New England, where the population was of almost pure English origin; and he refers to the opinion of one authority that Massachusetts furnished more than one-fourth of all the continental soldiers. The leaders, too, in the movement for independence, such as Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, George Washington, and Patrick Henry, were native Americans. Whatever the proportion engaged, the foreign-born element played an honorable part in the war.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

look up.

Give an estimate of the generalship of Howe, Cornwallis, and Washington. What lesson in colonial administration was taught by the American Revolution. Show how the uprising of citizen soldiers at various times influenced the course of the American Revolution. How in general did the powers of the first and second Continental Congress differ from those of the present Congress of the United States? Whose services to the Revolution were greater, Washington's or Franklin's? How do you justify the position of the Loyalists? Was the United States ungrateful to France in the peace negotiations? What reasons can you give for the failure of the invasion of Canada? Why was Clark's conquest of the Northwest Territory so easy? Was the Revolutionary War a civil war between two parts of the same nation, or a war between two different nations? How many years of actual fighting were there in the Revolution? Where was the fighting carried on in the different years? Summarize the aid of the French to the Americans. What concessions were made by the British and what by the Americans in the peace negotiations? Ought the United States to have remunerated the Loyalists?

1. Around Boston
 2. New York
 3. New York
 4. Penn New York & N. C.
 5. South.
 6. . . .

Lafayette

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Subjects of articles

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PART IV

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1781-1801

CHAPTER XIV

THE FAILURE OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1781-1789

THE WEAKNESS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The freedom of the thirteen revolting colonies was one thing, their permanent union in time of peace another. Should the thirteen new states go on each by itself, or together under a common government? Could they survive at all if not united? In war separate state action was manifestly impossible. When the War of Independence was looming on the horizon and while it was in progress, petty differences had to be laid aside for the common good, while the struggling colonies acted together under the uniform rule of the Continental Congress.

The Articles of Confederation, which went into operation in 1781, provided for a central government with practically the same powers as those already assumed, without legal sanction, by the Second Continental Congress. All power, such as it was, legislative, executive, and judicial, was vested in Congress, though this Congress of the Confederation, which succeeded the Second Continental Congress, saw fit to delegate part of its authority to other bodies. It selected certain state courts to try cases of piracy and felony on the high seas, and created special courts of appeal in prize cases. A large part of its executive powers Congress passed over to three boards or departments, headed by Robert Livingston, and after him, John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, and General Knox and later General Lincoln, Secretary of War.

When peace came it proved more difficult for the Congress of the Confederation to exercise its authority than during the war, and almost

impossible for it to command respect. Students of the subject are now quite generally agreed that during the six years from 1783 to 1789 the government of the Confederation was a failure. The states treated it with contempt, the people lost respect for it, and foreign nations insulted it with impunity. The national government was fast drifting into anarchy, though city governments, county governments, and state governments were on the whole proceeding successfully.

The failure
of the
Articles.

1. There was no one executive head or President and no national judiciary under the Articles of Confederation; and Congress, like the First and Second Continental Congresses, was in reality still a meeting of delegates, selected by the state legislatures and acting under instructions from those bodies.

How the
states
treated
Congress.

2. In voting power in Congress the states were equal, each with a single vote, which was cast by the majority voice of the state delegation; and for the enactment of most measures by Congress a two-thirds vote was required. To amend the Articles of Confederation a unanimous vote of all the states was necessary. Sometimes the states refused to send any delegates to the Congress; sometimes they paid their delegates only a meager salary or even none at all, and so were often unable to secure the services of competent men; and sometimes, to save expense, two states united in the support of a single set of delegates. Nor was it ever certain that the delegates, once elected, would regularly attend the meetings to which they were accredited.

3. Congress had no power to raise money by taxation, but was compelled to rely on the voluntary contributions of the states for all that it expended. Occasionally the states paid the sums that Congress requested, but as often refused to do so. During the life of the Confederation Congress received from the states only \$6,000,000 of the \$16,000,000 which it requested. This explains the failure of the national government to pay the soldiers all that was due them, and its failure to discharge promptly its indebtedness in Europe. It literally had no money and could procure none. The financial reputation of the country was soon ruined.

Inability of
Congress to
levy taxes.

This common reputation, as well as that of the separate states, was further shattered by the tardiness with which the latter met their state obligations and by their extreme readiness to issue for circulation among the people paper money such as had been discredited in the days of the war.

Finances of
the separate
states.

In contrast to their general disregard of the common good, was the patriotic disposition by the states of their western lands. Massa-

chusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia, by the sea-to-sea clause of their charters, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, by virtue of their charters, and New York by various treaties with the Iroquois, each laid claim to a part of the territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. Virginia's claim seemed particularly strong because of the recent conquest of the country northwest of the Ohio by her state forces under George Rogers Clark, but her claims were overlapped by those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. Conflict seemed inevitable. The states like Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, which had no western claims and therefore were possessed of less land from the sale of which to raise revenue and thus to reduce taxes, were dissatisfied. Maryland went so far as to lay down as a condition of her entering the Confederation that the larger states surrender to Congress their western claims. New York responded by giving up her claims in 1780, and was soon followed by Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Georgia held out till 1802. A part of her claim, the so-called Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio, Connecticut withheld from the national government and disposed of directly to individuals, devoting a portion of the proceeds to those of her citizens who had lost property at the hands of the British invaders during the Revolutionary War, and the remainder to the building up of her common school system.

The transfer of the western lands to the national government had enormous influence upon the future of the country aside from the direct result upon the territory itself, for in this way there was created a common bond of interest among the states at a time when such bonds were few and weak. The steps that finally led to the federal constitutional convention of 1787, as will presently appear, were taken in response to a desire to improve communication and transportation between the seaboard and the new national possessions in the West.

It was safe for individuals, as well as for the states, to despise and disobey Congress, as that body had no power to punish individuals and no soldiers to carry out its command save those voluntarily furnished by the states. A sense of humiliation filled the country when drunken soldiers in Philadelphia, clamoring for their pay, which Congress had not the power to give them, actually drove that body out of the city at the point of the bayonet. The large body of Loyalists must have beheld with satisfaction the impotence of the new government.

The surrender of the western lands of the states to Congress.

The influence of the land cessions.

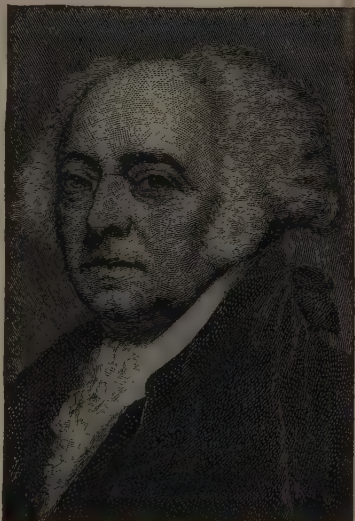
How individuals treated Congress.

Great Britain was naturally unfriendly to the United States. She signed the treaty of peace, withdrew her troops from the seaboard, and formally received John Adams as minister from the United States, but that was all. She sent no minister of her own to the United States for a number of years, and she refused to conclude with her a treaty of commerce, though trade between the two countries went on none the less. She

How foreign
nations
treated
Congress.

frankly gave as her reason for refusing to make such a treaty that she did not choose to enter into an agreement with the Congress of the United States which each of the thirteen states might break with impunity.

This was plainly the attitude of an unfriendly nation, for Holland, Sweden, and Prussia, friends of the United States during the late war, readily entered into friendly commercial treaties with the new nation. His Majesty, George III, also refused to open up his ports in the West Indies to United States vessels, which had been shut out from this rich trade by the war and were now clamoring for their old market. More galling still was the contemptuous refusal of the British to carry out in full the provisions of the treaty of peace of 1783 by the



JOHN ADAMS

withdrawal of their troops from the posts northwest of the Ohio River, which they had formally agreed to evacuate. Moreover, they made no move to compensate the slaveholders of the United States for the millions of dollars' worth of slaves which their army had carried off during and at the close of the war. It was alleged on the part of Great Britain that the United States herself was refraining from complying with the treaty of 1783 in two respects; first, by refusing any compensation to the Loyalists, and second, by not compelling the payment of private debts owed to British merchants before the war. Congress did, indeed, in compliance with the provisions of the treaty, recommend to the states that they make provision for recompensing the Loyalists; but it made this recommendation, well knowing that it had no power to enforce it and that the states would do nothing.

With the limited powers of the national government and the

deplorable lack of public interest in national affairs, there is small wonder that a quarrelsome, lawless spirit made its appearance in the states and led many patriots to fear that the nation was breaking up. New York was so far a stranger to a feeling of friendliness for the neighboring states as to lay a tariff duty on firewood coming into her borders from Connecticut and on farm and garden supplies from New Jersey; Connecticut levied taxes on importations from Massachusetts, and other states imposed similar taxes. It was a continuation of the old custom of intercolonial taxation under Parliament. Thus arose a bitter commercial struggle between sovereign states. Connecticut and Pennsylvania almost came to blows over the possession of Wyoming Valley, which was finally awarded to the latter by a special court of arbitration.

Rhode Island and Massachusetts were harassed by internal political contests over the expediency of issuing paper money. In Rhode Island paper money carried the day, but civil order was threatened and business came to a standstill while the question was pending. In Massachusetts the issue of paper money was defeated, but more than a thousand citizens, discontented at the outcome, gathered themselves into an armed band near Worcester in the central part of the state under the leadership of Daniel Shays, and devoted themselves for several months to military drill in preparation for active opposition to the state authorities. They burned barns, plundered houses, prevented courts from sitting, and besieged the arsenal at Springfield, until a superior force of militia was sent against them, which after some skirmishing compelled them to lay down their arms. Shays's rebellion, while a small affair in itself, was portentous because of the tendencies to lawlessness which it disclosed. Said Washington, hearing of the uprising: "How melancholy is the reflection that in so short a space we have made such long strides toward fulfilling the predictions of our transatlantic foes. 'Leave them to themselves and their government will soon dissolve.' Will not the wise and the good strive hard to avert this evil? . . . Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the Federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole."

When Congress, for the purpose of securing a commercial treaty with Spain, which would enable the vessels of the United States to trade in Spanish ports, proposed to renounce forever her claim, based on the treaty of peace of 1783, to the free navigation of the mouth of the Mississippi, lying in Spanish territory, the infant community of Kentucky rose in opposition. She was angered at a policy which would deprive her of a free outlet

Symptoms
of anarchy
in the states.

Shays's
Rebellion.

The spirit of
secession in
Kentucky
and
Tennessee.

to the ocean for her products, and boldly threatened to secede from the Union if Congress did not desist from its purpose. The proposed treaty was abandoned. The same spirit of secession cropped out in the sister community of Tennessee, then legally a part of North Carolina. These western counties of North Carolina, in rebellion at what seemed the neglect of their interests by the mother state, for some months maintained an independent organization as the state of Franklin, under the pathfinder, John Sevier, as governor, and even requested Congress to sanction their secession from North Carolina by admitting them into the Union as a separate state. Congress refused the request, and shortly afterwards the seceders resumed their former allegiance. With secession cropping out on the frontier, civil uprising pending in two states, and bitter interstate feuds arising in various sections, the restraints and obligations of government were visibly weakening. The Confederation was in fact a mere "rope of sand."

Congress scored one success in the midst of its failures. When the four large states surrendered to it their western claims, the United States found herself in the position of Great Britain before the Revolution, for she had a frontier of her own to govern. To her credit be it said that she treated her frontier in the same general way in which the Americans had always contended that Great Britain should treat her colonies. She did not oppress the new land, but in a wise law, called the Ordinance of 1787, provided that the new territory should have a governor appointed by Congress, that it should have its own legislature, that under certain restrictions it should make its own laws, and that some day it should be divided into states with the same rights and privileges as the original thirteen states. Slavery in the territory was forever prohibited, and religious liberty was guaranteed. No tariff tax on trade between the territory and the states was imposed, and both states and territory were to share the expenses of national government in the same proportion. It was provided that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." As the different states were formed out of the Northwest Territory and admitted into the Union, the national government, by virtue of its ownership of the land, set apart lot sixteen in every township, one thirty-sixth of the entire state, for the endowment of common schools, and two whole townships in each state for the endowment of a state university. The same beneficial educational policy was later applied by the United States to the states formed west of the Mississippi.

The one
success of
Congress.
The Ordinance of
1787.

underline 6 provisions.

This statesmanlike ordinance resulted partly from the desire of Congress to insure a national revenue from an increase in the sale of public lands, which naturally lagged as long as there was uncertainty as to the nature of the government of the territory. As soon as the new law was on the statute books, the Ohio Company, which had been formed in New England several years

The settle-
ment of
Ohio.



THE START OF THE OHIO COMPANY FROM IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS,
FOR MARIETTA, OHIO

before and had delayed taking up land for settlement until it could secure the guarantee of Congress that orderly government according to New England standards would be established in the territory, purchased one million acres of land north of the Ohio River, and in 1788 laid out the town of Marietta, in what is now the state of Ohio.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787

People endured the general chaos of government under the Confederation for a few years and then welcomed a change. Nothing shows better how seriously they felt the inadequacy of their national system than the response of the states in 1787 to the suggestion of a national convention to consider the improvement of the federal government. This came about indirectly. Representatives of Maryland and Virginia first came together in 1785 at Mt. Vernon, Washington's home on the Potomac, to decide upon a commercial policy respecting the navigation of the Potomac River between the seaboard and the new

The move-
ment for a
new national
government.

West. They accomplished their object but saw that to make any policy effective broader coöperation was necessary. At the invitation of Virginia, delegates from all the states were summoned to meet the next year at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the question of a general commercial policy for the entire country. In this convention five states were represented, but nothing was done beyond adopting an address to all the states, written by Alexander Hamilton of New York, urging them to send delegates in 1787 to a convention in Philadelphia which should have a still broader purpose, namely, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report to Congress such an act as, when agreed to by them, and confirmed by the legislature of every state, would effectually provide for the same." Official sanction of the convention was later given by the Congress of the Confederation.

Fifty-five delegates came together in Philadelphia in this, the most important convention in the history of the country, every state being represented but Rhode Island, which feared that in a stronger union her commercial rights would suffer. It was in this same summer of 1787 that the Congress of the Confederation, sitting in New York, passed the Ordinance of 1787.

Virginia headed her list of delegates with the name of George Washington, who added to his long line of benefactions to his country when he heartily supported the convention. The weight of his influence back of the movement added much to its chances of success, for nearly everybody loved and honored him and was ready to follow him. With him from Virginia came James Madison and Edmund Randolph. Benjamin Franklin, eighty-two years old but with a mind as active as that of a youth, headed the delegation from Pennsylvania, with James Wilson, Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris as colleagues. Alexander Hamilton was the leading delegate from New York, John Dickinson from Delaware, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth from Connecticut, Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King from Massachusetts, and Charles Pinckney and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney from South Carolina. John Adams was absent from the country as minister to Great Britain, Thomas Jefferson as minister to France, and John Jay as minister to Spain.

With Washington in the chair as moderator, the convention sat in secret session from May to September. Several of the members kept notes of the proceedings, the most complete of which are those of James Madison, published in 1840, a few years after his death.

The national convention.

Leading delegates.

Madison's "Notes."

The so-called Virginia plan, presented to the convention by Randolph and favored by the larger states, provided for a national government of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch, in the two houses of which the preponderance of power was to be with the more populous states, was to appoint the executive and judicial branches.

Fearful of the power of the larger states under such an arrangement, the smaller states pushed a plan of their own, known as the New Jersey plan, designed to preserve the equality of the states. This plan was practically that of the Articles of Confederation with amendments. By it Congress was to consist of one house, in which the states were to have equal representation, each casting one vote, which was to be decided by the majority of its delegation; and, as in the Virginia plan, there were to be a national executive and a national court. An extreme plan, proposed by Hamilton and based on the theory that the "British government was the best in the world," called for what would have been practically a monarchical form of government, but this plan was given no serious consideration by the convention.

Only by compromise could the conflicting interests of the large and small states be harmonized. "Give New Jersey an equal vote, and she will dismiss her scruples and concur in the national system," said one; and so it proved, when the small states were given an equal vote with the large states in the upper house of the legislative branch. By what was appropriately termed the "great compromise," a national legislature of two houses was created, in the upper house of which, called the Senate, the states were to be equal, with two members from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, while in the lower branch, or House of Representatives, the larger states were given the advantage by the provision that the number of a state's representatives in this body was to be based on population. The members of this house were to be elected by the people. In reckoning the population of a state for representation in this house and also for direct taxes, three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted. After this fundamental decision as to Congress, the next great difficulty concerned the executive, whether this branch of the national government should be single or multiple, and whether the incumbent or incumbents should be elected by Congress, by the people, or by electoral colleges. After prolonged discussion the present electoral colleges were agreed upon. An electoral college was to be chosen in each state as the legislature of that state might direct, and was to consist of as many members as there were United States Sena-

The Virginia plan.

The New Jersey plan.

The leading compromises of the Constitution.

tors and Representatives from the state. The various colleges were to meet in their respective states, cast their ballots for President and Vice President, and send the returns to Washington to be counted in the joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The President was made the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the service of the national government. He could grant pardons for all offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment, and with the ratification of two-thirds of the Senate he could make treaties; with the advice and consent of the Senate he could appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, the judges, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointment was not otherwise provided for. From time to time he was to give to Congress information of the state of the Union and to recommend to it such measures as he should deem expedient. He was allowed to call Congress together in extra session, and over all congressional bills to exercise a veto, which Congress could overthrow only by a two-thirds vote in both houses. Finally, he was to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." It was the duty of the Vice President to preside over the sessions of the Senate, and in case of the death, resignation, removal, or inability of the President to serve, to act as President. *30, 400. pop per Representative*

The powers
of the Presi-
dent and Vice
President.

As a concession to the Southern States, the power of Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves into the country was not to be operative till 1808. Congress was forbidden to levy an export tax, but was allowed to levy an import tax and to exercise other designated powers, such as to borrow money, to regulate commerce between the states, to establish uniform rules of naturalization, to coin money, to establish post offices, to grant patents and copyrights, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, etc. *Minor compromises.*

The Supreme Court was the most original creation of the convention, and is the feature of the federal government of the United States that has elicited most admiration from other nations. The delegates themselves regarded the national tribunal as the weakest spot in their scheme, whereas the electoral colleges, which have failed of their original purpose, they looked upon as one of the strongest features of the Constitution. *The Supreme Court.*

The Constitution provided methods for its own amendment. An amendment might originate in either one of two ways; either two-thirds of both houses of Congress might propose one, or one might

be proposed by a national convention, called for the purpose by Congress, on the application of two-thirds of the states. Ratification of a proposed amendment required a vote of three-fourths of the states, acting either through their legislatures or through special conventions called for the purpose.

**Amendment
of the Consti-
tution.**

The convention adjourned September 17, 1787, after thirty-nine of its members had subscribed their names to the new instrument.

**Ratification
of the
Constitution.**

By its own provision, when ratified by nine states, the Constitution was to go into effect among those states. Within less than four months after the adjournment of the convention four states had ratified the Constitution, and within a year's time all the states save North Carolina and Rhode Island had added their approval. The vote in Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia was unanimous, but the close vote of 187 to 168 in Massachusetts, and 89 to 79 in Virginia, reveals the reluctance of the large states to part with the preponderance of power which they feared they would lose under the new plan. The vote in New York stood 30 to 27.

In New York the victory for the Constitution was largely due to Alexander Hamilton, who loyally accepted the plan, though, as framed, it was contrary to his own ideas. He made powerful speeches for it, and in connection with Madison and Jay, wrote in its behalf the "Federalist," a collection of essays which are to this day a classic in the interpretation of the Constitution. That such men as Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee were in opposition to the adoption of the new government is abundant evidence of the difficulty that must have been encountered in reaching a decision; and the fact of the adhesion of these men to the losing minority explains their practical disappearance at this time from national politics.

North Carolina, the twelfth state to approve the Constitution, reached her decision a little over six months after the new government went into effect, while Rhode Island delayed her entrance into the United States of America six months longer. Not till Congress was on the point of levying a tariff duty against her, as against an outsider, did she yield.

**The delay of
North Caro-
lina and
Rhode
Island.**

The United States of America under the new organization constituted a federal government, in which the various states combined for the performance of certain functions in common, while reserving to themselves separately all rights and powers not expressly given over to the new central government by the terms of the Constitution. Foreseeing the disputes and conflicts that would necessarily arise under such a system of

**General
nature of
the new
government**

federal and state governments, even its advocates wondered if the national government could long survive with the state governments still active and vigorous, or if the one must not inevitably overshadow the other. There were the seeds of other conflicts in the threefold nature of the national government itself. It seemed unavoidable that the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court should disagree as to their respective rights and encroach upon one another's powers. The ultimate success of the new Constitution was by no means assured. Only time could tell how the experiment would work.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

✓ Did the same body frame the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States? What were the arguments for and against the Constitution? How did the powers of the national government under the Confederation differ from those of the present national government? What was the influence of the western lands on the formation of the Constitution? What were the favorable and the unfavorable points of the Articles of Confederation? What is meant by secession? What manifestations of the spirit of secession were there before 1789? Give instances of the weakness of government under the Confederation. Show the importance of the Mississippi Valley in American history. What did Rhode Island and North Carolina gain by entering the Union? Why did not the Congress of the Confederation undertake to make the new Constitution? Why has the period from 1783

to 1789 been called the "critical period"? How did an act of Maryland lead up to the Constitution? What provisions of the treaty of peace of 1783 were not carried out for a number of years? What were the Virginia and the New Jersey plans in the constitutional convention? Describe the powers of the President and Congress under the Constitution. Describe the compromises of the Constitution. Compare the relation existing between Great Britain and Massachusetts before 1760, with the relation sustained between the Congress of the Confederation and the Northwest Territory.

#ND

CHAPTER XV

B

THE SUCCESS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, 1789-1801

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S PART IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

IN 1789 George Washington entered upon a new phase of his illustrious career. As commander-in-chief of the military forces he had won the independence of the country, and as private citizen during the national government of the Confederation he had taken a leading part both in pointing out the weaknesses of that government and in securing the new government of the Constitution. Great in military affairs and in private life, he had yet to prove his greatness as an official in civil life. If there had been a national office of importance under the Confederation, undoubtedly he would have been called upon to fill it; but there was none. The new government of the Constitution created such an office in the presidency of the United States, and the people unanimously conferred it upon Washington. It was an honor to be chosen the nation's first President, and a double honor to be chosen unanimously. Every President since has met with opposition. John Adams of Massachusetts was elected the first Vice President.

George
Washington,
the first
President.

The first Wednesday in March, 1789, fixed upon by the old Congress as the date for the beginning of the new government, came in this year upon the fourth of the month, but through delays incident to the difficulties of travel the new House of Representatives did not convene till the first of April

Delay in the
organization
of the new
government.

and the Senate not till five days later. After the organization of the two houses and the counting of the electoral vote in joint session, Washington was officially informed of his election, and on the fifteenth of April set out from Mount Vernon to the seat of government in New York. His journey was one long triumphal tour, in the course of which he was greeted from town to town by crowds of enthusiastic citizens, and honored with banquets, toasts and addresses, songs and cheers. At Trenton, New Jersey, where twelve years before he had eluded Cornwallis by his strategy, a triumphal arch spanned the way, and girls dressed in white strewed his path with flowers. He

arrived in New York on the twenty-third of April, and on the thirtieth he was inaugurated.

The oath of office was administered before a large crowd of people at Federal Hall, Wall Street, New York. Like every President since, Washington repeated the following impressive words:
 Washington's inaugural address. "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of



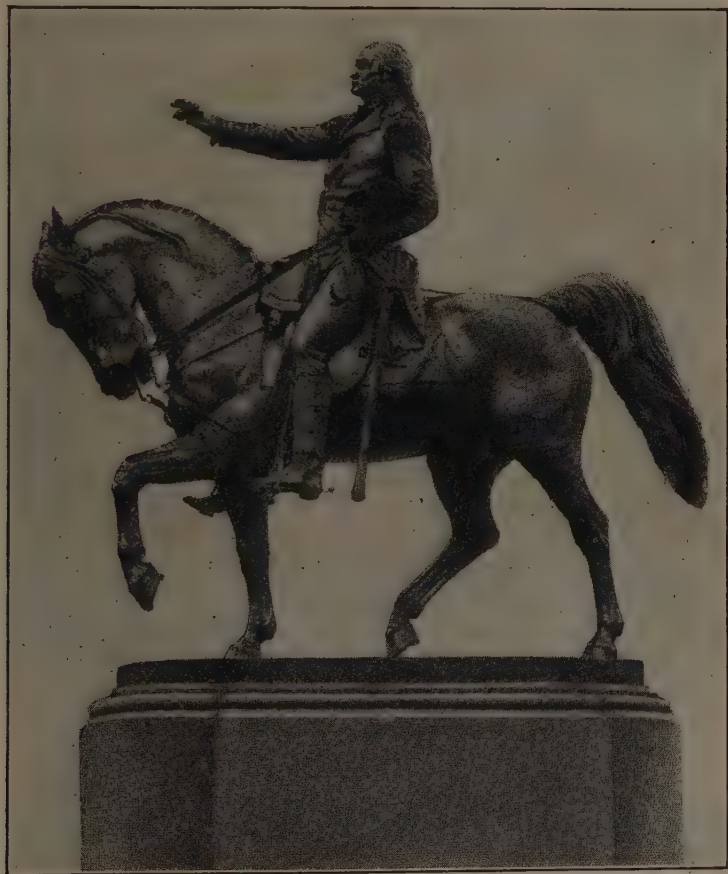
MOUNT VERNON

the United States." In the inaugural message, delivered later to the Senators and Representatives, the new President displayed the devout spirit which was one of the characteristics of his greatness, when he reverently proclaimed, "It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of the nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to its charge."

The new government set itself at once to the important task of organization. The President was able to find little in the past history of the country to guide him in the conduct of the affairs of his novel office, but was obliged every day to make precedents of more or less importance for his successors

Precedents
set by
Washington.

in the presidential chair. Some of his customs have been followed and some have been discontinued. It was rumored at the time that he desired as his formal title, "His Highness, the President of the

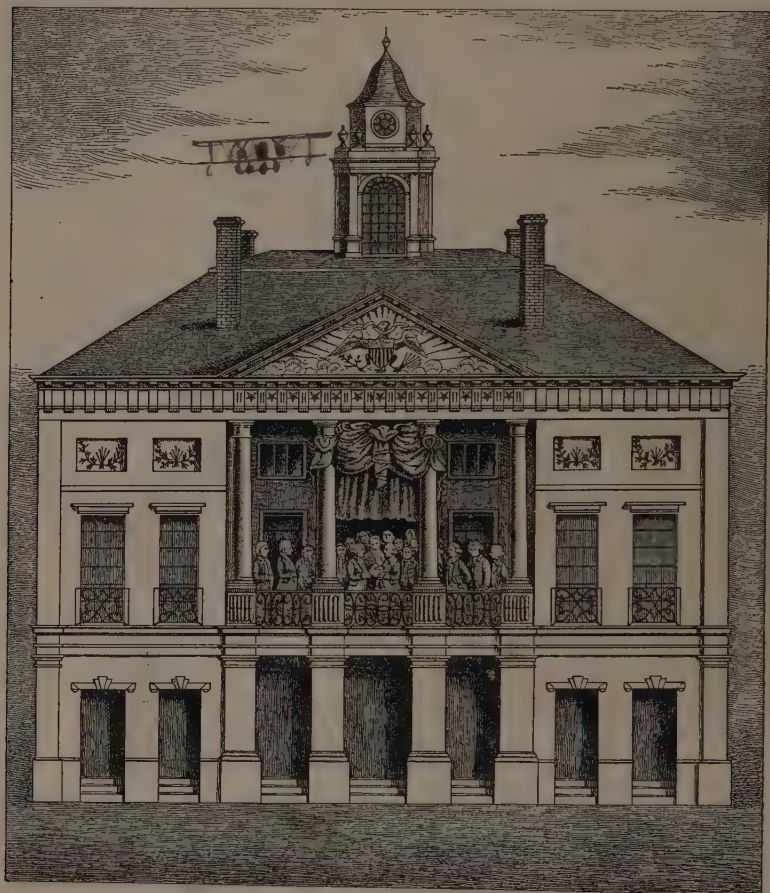


WASHINGTON

From the Statue by H. K. Brown, Union Square, New York.

United States of America and the Protector of the Rights of the Same," which his countrymen soon shortened to "Mr. President." He delivered his messages in person to the joint session of the two houses of Congress, and in formal audience in his own quarters received their reply. To the treaties which he negotiated he at first

received "the advice and consent" of the Senate in person in the senate chamber. These practices were later discontinued.



NEW YORK'S SECOND CITY HALL, FEDERAL HALL

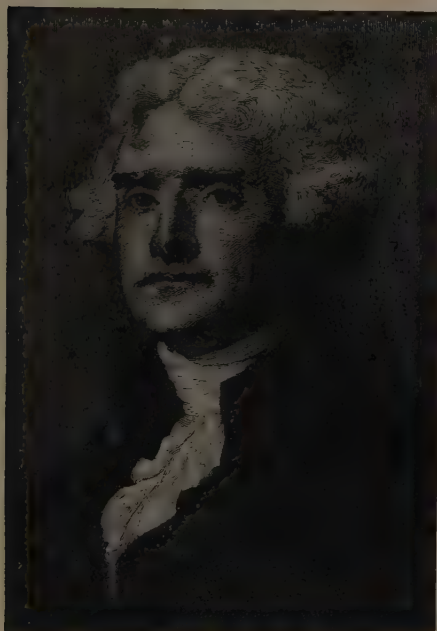
Erected 1700, at Wall and Broad Streets. Here George Washington was inaugurated first president of the United States, April 30, 1789, and here the Congress of the United States met till the removal of the National Capital to Philadelphia.

Washington was not so confirmed in his own self-esteem that he refused to consult others. The secretaries or the heads of the various executive departments, who were after all only the chief clerks of the President, he often summoned to meet with him in private consulta-

tion. Such cabinet meetings were required neither by the Constitution nor by Congress, but as a matter of personal assistance and as a means of efficiency the custom proved of great value to Washington as it has to every succeeding President.

The cabinet meeting.

Washington's choice of secretaries was most happy. Thomas



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Jefferson, the Secretary of State, was a statesman of long experience.

At the beginning of his career he had been a useful

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State.

member of the legislature of Virginia; as a member of the Second Continental Congress he wrote the Declaration of Independence; as governor of Virginia during a part of the Revolutionary War he led his state in the abolition of several time-honored abuses, such as the right of primogeniture, the law of entail, and certain religious restrictions; and as a member of the Congress of the Confederation he interested himself in the formation of the Northwest Territory, although when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed he was no longer

a member of that body, but minister to France.

Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, who was only thirty-two years of age in 1789, had already been prominent in the movement for the formation and adoption of the Constitution. He was an immigrant from the island of Nevis in the British West Indies, a graduate of King's College, now Columbia University, a veteran of the late war, and an able lawyer and practical politician. In his difficult post at the head of the

Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury.

Department of the Treasury he proved to be one of the greatest secretaries ever selected by any President. His differences with his colleague Jefferson over the interpretation of the Constitution occasioned many a debate in that famous cabinet, but Washington proved an adept in managing his unruly though brilliant advisers. General Henry Knox

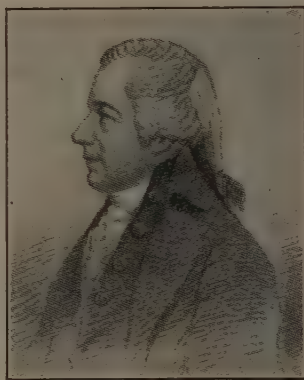
of Massachusetts became Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph of Virginia Attorney General.

As was natural, it was the friends of the Constitution who were in control of affairs under the new régime. Washington had been president of the convention of 1787, and Hamilton and Randolph members of that famous body; seven of the members of the convention became Senators in the new Congress which they had helped to create, five more became members of the House of Representatives, while six others made up the entire membership of the new Supreme Court.

THE PART OF CONGRESS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

Like the President, Congress was called upon at the start to make various important decisions concerning procedure, the powers of its officials, its own powers, and the relations of the two houses to one another and to the President. Committees in the two houses were first chosen by the houses themselves, though after a short time this function in the House of Representatives was given over to the Speaker, in whose hands it was to remain for more than a hundred years. The most important contributions made by Congress to the organization of the new government were contained in a series of laws. First, in order to secure an adequate revenue to pay the expenses of the government, on July 4, 1789, it exercised its power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," by passing as one of its first measures a general tariff, called "An Act for the Encouragement and Production of Manufactures," imposing duties on manufactured goods imported into the country. This was a tariff act of the same nature as the Molasses Act, the Sugar Act, and the Townshend Acts of the colonial period, which in their day had roused the Americans to vigorous opposition. Now, however, it was taxation by the people's own representatives. Charged with the responsibility of administering their own affairs, the Americans were glad to resort to the old tax, especially in the crisis of starting their new government, when the political expediency of laying but slight financial burdens directly on the people was strongly to be considered. The

The part played by the members of the constitutional convention.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

After an engraving by J. Rogers from the Talleyrand Miniature.

indirect tax of the tariff was paid first by the importer, who passed the burden on to the public, so that all classes bore their share of the tax in the increased prices which they paid in the markets for imported goods. There were no gatherers of this tax outside the legal ports of entry, nothing to suggest a general tax. Had the people of 1789 been called upon to contribute directly out of their own pockets to official taxgatherers in every town for the support of the new national government, popular dissatisfaction would have resulted and the United States of America might have had a bitter and perhaps unsuccessful struggle for existence.

Men argued for the new tax in the debates in Congress as they have argued for the tariff since, not only on the ground that the measure would produce a revenue but also that it was proper to foster infant manufacturing industries by national legislation; in this way the legislature could encourage the country to become a self-supporting unit, able to produce all it required for its own consumption and capable in time of war of maintaining itself without importations from abroad. The low rates of the first act, in no case over fifteen per cent ad valorem, were slightly raised in 1790 and again in 1792. Congress hoped that under the new tariff, manufacturing, which was still almost entirely confined to the homes of the people, would develop on a larger scale.

**Arguments
for the
tariff.**

An excise tax, which is a tax imposed on goods of domestic production, was levied on the manufacture of distilled spirits. From all sources, from the tariff, the excise, and the sale of public lands in the West, the national revenue for the year 1792 exceeded \$3,000,000. In view of the inability of the Congress of the Confederation to impose any tax at all, this financial record of the new government under the Constitution was encouraging.

**Success of
the national
finances.**

A part of the new revenue was devoted to meeting the national obligations of \$12,000,000 due in France and in Holland, in regard to which all were agreed that perfect faith must be kept. As to the \$40,000,000 or more of the domestic debt there was disagreement. This indebtedness was in the form of certificates payable to the holders, issued during the financial stress of the late war and during the days of the Confederation. As is invariably the case with such money, these certificates had depreciated in value as it became evident to the people from day to day that the government of the Confederation could not possibly pay them at their face value, and they were now bandied about by speculators for a few cents on the dollar. Secretary Hamilton proposed to Congress to pay the certificates at their full face value, even though in most cases the

**Paying off
the national
debt.**

benefit would accrue not to the original creditors, who had come forward to help the government with their money in the time of need, but to the speculators. He contended that only in this way could the government maintain the public faith and reassure its future creditors. Congress accepted his view, agreed to meet the interest promptly, and formulated a plan to pay the principal, with the happy result that the securities were soon quoted at par.

The debts of the various states, amounting to \$20,000,000, incurred for the common good during the Revolution, Hamilton proposed to Congress to assume in the name of the general government and pay out of the national treasury. In view of the patriotic motives of the states in advancing this money, the proposal seemed fair, although objection arose in those states which, like Virginia, had already paid off a part of the debt out of their own funds. It was shrewd policy to transfer to the United States in this way the support of the moneyed classes, who would greatly desire the success of the national government, if it was to become responsible for the payment of the state certificates which they held. When Congress hesitated, Hamilton, by a private agreement with Jefferson, won a few votes from Virginia for assumption of the debts, in return for which he agreed to find an equal number of northern votes for a plan to locate the national capital in the South, on the banks of the Potomac. Both plans then went through.

**Assumption
of the state
debts by the
United States.**

**The new na-
tional capital
at Washing-
ton, District
of Columbia.**

After remaining for one year in New York, the seat of the national government was moved by Congress to Philadelphia for ten years, while the present site was being prepared in the wilds between Maryland and Virginia. This selection of a spot in the wilderness for the permanent seat of government may seem extraordinary, but history shows that it is always difficult under a federal form of government to agree on the location of the national capital. In 1900, when the British colonies in Australia formed the union of the Commonwealth of Australia, provision was made for the location of the national capital in an entirely uninhabited region, and this capital is now in process of construction. The Canadian states, forming the federation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, appealed to Queen Victoria to select their capital city for them, while the new Union of South Africa, formed in 1909, had so much difficulty with the same problem, that it divided its central government into a number of parts and located each part in a separate city.

So undeveloped were the industrial and commercial resources of the United States in 1789 that only three or four banks were to be

found in the whole country, and these were very small. Secretary Hamilton, confident of the final success of his policy of building up manufacturing and commerce through the tariff and the other financial measures of Congress, proposed to Congress to give further aid to these lines of industry by the creation of a national bank with a capital of \$10,000,000. The government was to subscribe one-fifth of the capital stock and was to have the right to require of the managers of the bank periodical statements of its condition. The bank was to aid the government in making loans and in the collection of taxes, and was to issue its notes to circulate as money of uniform value throughout the Union. In return for these services of the bank to the government, the bank was to enjoy the privilege of keeping the money of the United States on deposit in its vaults and of lending it out at interest, just as it loaned out at interest the money of any private depositor.

The first
Bank of the
United
States.

At a loss to know whether or not to sign the bank bill as it came to him from Congress, President Washington appealed to his two Secretaries, Hamilton and Jefferson, for their written opinions. Hamilton, who advocated loose construction of the Constitution, maintained that it was proper for Congress to read between the lines of the Constitution and to do things found there only by implication, while Jefferson, who believed in strict construction, declared that Congress had power to do nothing which was not specifically authorized by the plain words of the Constitution.

The consti-
tutionality of
the bank.

Hamilton rested his ardent support of the bank bill on the clause of the Constitution which says that Congress shall have power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." Rightly construed by the rules of English grammar, these words meant to Hamilton that Congress had the power to provide for the general welfare, while to Jefferson they meant only that Congress had the power, not to provide for the general welfare, but to lay such taxes as would themselves provide for the general welfare. The word "necessary," in the necessary and proper clause, "The Congress shall have power: — To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," in the mind of Hamilton meant "convenient" or "conducive to," but to Jefferson "absolutely indispensable." The former contended that when Congress was given the power, for example, "to lay and collect taxes," it must also by implication possess the right to choose the means for carrying out its constitutional powers, whereas the latter denied this conclusion.

Hamilton
versus
Jefferson

B Washington accepted the views of Hamilton and signed the bank bill, and his decision on this question of how the Constitution is to be construed has in general been followed ever since. The Washington's decision. national government to-day is built up on the Hamiltonian theory of loose or broad construction of the Constitution. For example, from the power to "establish post offices and post roads" Congress derives its power to punish those who rob the mails, and from the power to "regulate commerce . . . among the several states" its authority to control the bridges that span the navigable streams and to regulate railroad rates.

In another important act Congress passed by a two-thirds vote in each house and sent to the states for ratification a "bill of rights," containing safeguards against encroachments by the central government upon personal rights and liberties, similar to those in the state constitutions. These were ratified by the states and appended to the Constitution in the first ten amendments. The absence of these provisions had been one of the chief objections to the Constitution when it was before the people of the states for ratification, and their final incorporation as amendments added to the general satisfaction with the new instrument.

Congress passed other important legislation. It created the subordinate branches of the executive department, the heads of which were appointed by the President and consulted as his cabinet; passed a law, much after the fashion of the old navigation laws of Great Britain, to give to the vessels of the United States a monopoly of the coastwise shipping trade of the country; and passed the Judiciary Act, which has remained but little changed to the present day, outlining in detail the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States and the manner in which appeals may be carried to this tribunal from the courts of the states. The Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory was reenacted. The Coinage Act of 1792 set up a bimetallic currency, by which both gold and silver were to be coined; for sums less than a dollar, the decimal system was adopted.

THE PART OF THE SUPREME COURT IN ORGANIZATION

The influence of the Supreme Court. John Jay was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Though this tribunal was of fundamental importance in the new scheme of government, its influence was not at first apparent, inasmuch as it could render decisions only when specific cases were submitted to it, and these did not immediately arise. The first great decision of the

court bearing directly on the powers of the central government was not made till 1803. The tribunal refused to give mere advice. On one occasion, when the Executive submitted to it a list of twenty-nine different questions for its opinion, it respectfully declined to answer. On another occasion, when the legislative branch laid on them certain duties in regard to soldiers' pensions, the members of the court likewise refused to comply, taking the position that it would be better for the new government if they should confine themselves strictly to judicial duties. An early decision, given in favor of a citizen of another state against the state of Georgia, led to a general feeling that sovereign states ought not to be subject to suit brought by private individuals; and in response to this sentiment arose the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, forbidding suits against a state by citizens of other states or of foreign states.

THE RISE OF NEW POLITICAL PARTIES

In addition to the troublesome question of how to interpret the Constitution, raised by the Federalist measures of organization, there was political cleavage along another line. The instinctive **Aristocracy.** democratic tendencies of the masses of the people were arrayed against the aristocratic views of some of the leaders. Washington was an aristocrat from the sole of his buckled shoe to the top of his powdered wig; few could be intimate with him. As President he gave grand receptions, at which he and Mrs. Washington received the guests with a stately bow from a raised dais; he rode abroad in state, and was accused by some of aping royalty. His Secretary of the Treasury declared at a banquet, "Your people, sir, your people are a great beast," while John Adams asserted his belief in the "rule of the rich, the well-born, and the able." In general, these men and their political supporters believed in a government of "those who alone from education, fortune, character, and principle are entitled to command." The practical working of this theory was illustrated in the politics of the state of Connecticut, where the governor and the council, together with the corporation of Yale College, decided the policy of the Federalist party, which was the controlling party of the state, and gave their orders to the yearly meetings of the clergy of the Congregational Church, who passed them on to the individual members of the party in every parish. The common man was not consulted. As in the days of the Declaration of Independence, what with property qualifications, religious qualifications, and educational qualifications for the suffrage, scarcely one man in five throughout the country could vote.



Mrs. WASHINGTON'S FIRST RECEPTION

The first statesman after 1789 to object successfully to this tendency toward aristocracy was Thomas Jefferson, who held the view that all men, not merely "the rich, the well-born, and the able," should have the right to vote, to belong to political parties, and to hold office. "Whenever our affairs go obviously wrong," he wrote, "the good sense of the people will interpose to set them right." Back of Jefferson were the democratic instincts of the masses.

Democracy.

These differences of political opinion arising after the unanimous election of Washington in 1789 were accompanied by a violent display of partisanship. Two parties had been created by the discussions over the ratification of the Constitution, the Federalists, who stood for the ratification of the new Constitution, and the Anti-Federalists, who fought the erection of the new government. After 1789, when the adoption of the Constitution was no longer a question at issue, the problems of the organization of the government under it caused a new alignment of parties. The followers of Hamilton favored loose construction of the Constitution, a strong central government, and a restricted suffrage, and retained the name of Federalists; Jefferson and his partisans, on the other hand, opposed these principles and demanded a strict construction of the Constitution, were jealous for the rights of the states against the encroachments of the central government, and championed democracy. This party of Jefferson was first known as Republican, later as Democratic-Republican. Into it were gathered many of the old Anti-Federalists and in general the champions of the masses, while the wealthy and conservative tended to join the Federalists.

The Federalists and the Democrats.

With the organization of the new central government largely accomplished, the people were called upon in 1792 for a second time to elect a President. In conformity with the non-partisan nature of his election in 1788, Washington was still attempting to give to the country a non-partisan administration; but with Hamilton and Jefferson wrangling with one another in the cabinet, and with the dissensions between the two political parties waxing hotter every day, he longed for retirement. The need of his strong hand at the helm, however, was apparent to all, and at the earnest request of Hamilton, Jefferson, and other leaders, he consented to accept a second term and was again unanimously elected. Vice President Adams was reelected by a vote of 77 to 50. On the other hand, the election of members of the House of Representatives, which is held on even years and comes in the year of the presidential contest and in the middle of the presidential term, was

The non-partisan presidential election of 1792.

conducted this year on party lines and resulted in a victory for the Democratic-Republicans.

B. THE MILITARY POWER OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

In the administration of the internal affairs of the country in Washington's second term, there were two vigorous and highly successful exhibitions of the military powers of the new government. The first test came in 1794 near the little town of Pittsburg in western Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the outbreak of the so-called Whisky Rebellion against the law of Congress laying a tax on the manufacture of distilled spirits. Shut off by the mountains from easy communication overland with the eastern seaboard, and removed by hundreds of miles from access to the ocean by water at New Orleans, the people of this section found it to their advantage to distill their corn into whisky before seeking a market, thereby reducing its bulk and facilitating transportation. As corn was their leading product, the Pennsylvania frontiersmen were hard hit by the tax. They tarred and feathered the tax-collectors and the tax went unpaid, until Washington determined to use extreme measures. The militia of the states, which before 1789 had recognized no obligations save to their own states, were now subject to the call of the President. The question arose whether they would respond, if called out by their new master to serve against their fellow-citizens. Washington felt keenly the seriousness of the crisis, as he well knew that the new government would be plunged into a dangerous situation if the militia of the states refused to obey his orders. All doubts on the subject were removed when the militia of three states, fifteen thousand strong, responded loyally, and marched to the scene of the trouble. The rebellion collapsed.

A second demonstration of the military power of the new government was afforded in the same year by a successful expedition against the Indians of northwestern Ohio. The first settlements of the Ohio Company at Marietta and at other points in Ohio had undergone the usual struggles with the savages. General Harmar, sent against the Ohio Indians in 1790 at the head of fourteen hundred and fifty men, and General St. Clair at the head of about the same number in 1791, had been put to rout. The victims of the scalping knife on the second expedition were numbered by the hundreds. Washington's parting words to St. Clair had been, "You know how the Indians fight; beware of a surprise;" but St. Clair allowed himself to be surprised. Finally in 1794 Washington sent out General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, who fought a decisive battle

**The
Whisky
Rebellion.**

**Defeat of
the Indians
in Ohio.**

with the Indians near the western end of Lake Erie in 1794, defeated them badly, devastated their country for miles around and concluded a peace with the savages of the whole region. "Wayne," said the Indians, "we cannot surprise, for he is a chief who never sleeps."



AN EARLY FRONTIER FORT IN OHIO

The settlement of the country after this decisive victory proceeded so rapidly that Ohio was ready for statehood in 1802, fourteen years after the first settlement. The somewhat earlier settlement of the frontier in the South brought Kentucky into the Union in 1792, less than twenty years after Boone had reached the region, and Tennessee in 1796, less than thirty years after her original settlement.

**Rapid settle-
ment of
Ohio.**

Following the excellent precedent set by the Congress of the Confederation in its dealings with the Ohio Company, the new Congress was very liberal in its disposition of the western lands. According to the principle which had governed the whites almost from their first advent into the western hemisphere, the Indians were considered to have no permanent jurisdiction, that is, no right to exercise final authority, over the territory which they held; nor were they allowed by the United States to dispose of their lands to individuals. They gave up their lands to the national government by treaty, and the white settlers made their purchases from the government. The lands were sold by the government in full and complete ownership, sometimes to speculators in parcels of thousands of acres and sometimes to individuals in small farms.

**Liberal dis-
position of
the public
lands.**

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1789-1797

The foreign affairs of the national government did not assume serious importance till the beginning of Washington's second term, when, at the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain in

1793, they suddenly took a foremost place among the problems of state and held that position for the next twenty years. It was fortunate that the new nation had a chance to get well grounded before the outside distractions arose. France was in the midst of that great upheaval known as

The outbreak of war between France and Great Britain.

the French Revolution; the king had been deprived of his powers, dethroned, and beheaded, and a republic set up. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, which the French issued early in their struggle, was in its own words a solemn declaration of "the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man." "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," ran its opening article; and the document went on to claim that "the principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation." Such a gospel of "liberty, equality and fraternity" did not accord with the monarchical ideas of the larger part of Europe. First Prussia and Austria rose up in opposition, then Great Britain, until finally practically all Europe was combined to crush democracy in France.

Both Great Britain and France in this crisis relied largely on food supplies from the United States. Trade with France was carried on under the commercial treaty of 1778, while that with Great Britain went on without the formal sanction of a treaty. When the news of the European wars reached

The position of the United States in the crisis.

America the question arose whether the United States should continue in a neutral position, friendly to the British and the French alike, or should side with one against the other. The merchants of the seaboard preferred the former course, since they hoped thus to be able to continue selling their products to both sides. To them neutral commerce in time of war meant high prices for their products and high freight rates for the vessels engaged in the trade; and at the alluring prospect the ready capital of the country turned away from the manufacturing industries, which it had been one of the objects of the tariff law to foster, and sought the sea. Manufacturing was forced to wait for its boom till this profitable neutral commerce, arising out of the wars in Europe, should cease.

War in Europe was no sooner started than France, reminding the people of the United States of the treaty of alliance of 1778, under which she had assisted them to win their freedom from

Citizen Genêt.

Great Britain, set up the claim that turn about was fair play, and that she herself was now in trouble and required their help. To push her claims she sent Citizen Genêt to the United States as her minister in 1793. Genêt landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and on his journey to Philadelphia was greeted on every hand with enthusiasm by the liberty-loving Americans, upon whom France's Declara-

tion of the Rights of Man and her struggle for freedom were making a profound impression. Among the new minister's first acts in the land of liberty were the enlistment of American citizens to join in the wars of his native land, the commissioning of ships in American ports to sail as privateers in the name of France, and finally the bringing of captured ships, taken from the British, into American ports for judicial condemnation. In the capital at Philadelphia, Genêt proved not half so shrewd and diplomatic as had Franklin in Paris fifteen years before. He was hasty and excitable; he insulted Washington and his ministers, made extravagant demands for instant assistance to France, and even appealed to the American people against their President.

Washington faced the question calmly, with the realization that it was for the best interests of the United States to cultivate the arts of peace rather than allow herself to be drawn into a foreign war. Some brought forward the argument that the treaty with the old French monarchy did not hold with the new French republic. Others maintained that even if it did hold, the treaty of 1778 was, in its own words, a "defensive alliance," and that the war in which France was engaged was an offensive war. In a proclamation the President declared that the United States would be neutral in the struggle between France and Great Britain. Congress sustained him in this position and passed a law, still on the statute books, forbidding citizens to enlist in the army or navy of a belligerent state, with which the United States was at peace, and prohibiting the fitting out in the ports of the United States of any vessel designed to commit hostilities against a state with which the United States was at peace. These rules in regard to neutrality have since been adopted by the leading nations.

The United States neutral.

Washington vigorously enforced his proclamation and requested France to withdraw Genêt as her official representative in the United States. The impetuous minister's indiscretions had done far more to turn sympathy to the British than to aid the cause of his own country.

The recall of Genêt.

In this sudden unpleasantness between France and the United States, Great Britain had an opportunity to attach the Americans to her own side, but this she neglected to do. She still refused to withdraw her troops from the northwest posts in compliance with the treaty of 1783, and to make compensation for the slaves which her soldiers had carried off during the late war; nor would she consent to make a commercial treaty formally opening her own ports and those of the British West Indies to the commerce of the United States.

British contempt for the United States.

Both Great Britain and France persisted in certain objectionable practices against the neutral vessels of the United States which sought to carry on trade with the enemy. It was generally agreed at the time that a neutral merchant vessel in time of war might bring a cargo into an unblockaded belligerent port, but that a belligerent vessel of war might stop and search any neutral merchant vessel on the high seas, and if she found thereon certain forbidden goods useful in the prosecution of war, might carry her off to a prize court, where both the vessel and the forbidden goods were liable to confiscation. Just what should be included in the list of prohibited goods, called contraband of war, was in dispute. Almost the only goods about which there was general agreement were munitions of war. The United States, as an agricultural nation, contended that food supplies should not be considered contraband, while Great Britain, to keep the American supplies away from France, declared them contraband. Furthermore Great Britain and France maintained the doctrine of a paper blockade, that is, that one belligerent had the right in war, merely by proclamation, to prohibit all neutral vessels, whatsoever their cargo, from trading in the ports of the other belligerent, and to attack them if they attempted to do so. The United States, on the other hand, claimed that a blockade could not be created merely by proclamation, but that to exist at all it must be made effective by ships of war on guard at the blockaded ports.

The warring nations refused to admit that the goods of the enemy on a neutral ship should be exempt from capture and insisted that they had the right to seize all such goods whenever they could, in spite of the position which the United States generally took in the treaties of this time that "free ships make free goods," excepting contraband of war. France claimed that the goods of a neutral on an enemy's ship were subject to seizure, while the United States and Great Britain maintained that neutral goods on an enemy's ships, except contraband of war, were exempt from capture. Great Britain further contended that, when a nation with colonies closed those colonies to trade with the vessels of outside nations in time of peace, she should not, upon entering into war, open them suddenly and allow neutral vessels to carry on the colonial trade. This was the so-called rule of 1756, promulgated by Great Britain at the opening of the French and Indian War, to prevent France from allowing neutrals to carry on her trade with the French West Indies, which in time of peace she reserved to herself.

From time immemorial Great Britain had been in the habit, in time

International
law as to the
rights of
neutrals on
the sea in
time of war.

Other cus-
toms of inter-
national law.

of war, of impressing, that is forcing, her citizens to serve in her navy. When, now, in the process of searching the neutral vessels of the United States, she detected the presence there of supposed British subjects, she assumed to carry on their impressment from these neutral vessels; and France, too, indulged in the same practice, though to a less extent.

**Impressment
of American
seamen.**

While international law, which is in reality not law at all, but simply international custom determined by the practices of civilized nations, is now in general accord with the contentions of the Americans, at that time both the British and the French practices, though occasionally objected to by other European nations, had the sanction of usage.

**International
law on the
side of the
British and
the French.**

Great Britain and France enforced their ideas concerning contraband by the capture of American vessels carrying these goods, and Great Britain sought to prevent the vessels of the United States from taking part in the trade of the French West Indies, which France suddenly opened up to them. Within a short time each belligerent had effected many captures of the helpless vessels of the United States.

**Belligerent
attacks on the
merchant
ships of the
United
States.**

Popular indignation in the United States rose higher against Great Britain than against France, partly because of the sympathy felt for France in her professions of liberty, partly because the British captures outnumbered those of the French, but mainly because of the passions roused by the Revolutionary War. To curb the rising war feeling against the British and to preserve the neutrality to which he was committed, Washington sent John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to Great Britain to clear the atmosphere if possible by a treaty. In this step the President was warmly upheld by the merchants of the country. In spite of the many captures of their vessels, the annual foreign commerce of the United States merchants increased from \$26,000,000 in 1793, when the British-French war opened, to \$47,000,000 in 1795; the gains of the merchants were outweighing their losses, and fearful that war between the United States and Great Britain would cut off this growing neutral trade, they gave their voice for peace and for any honorable method of maintaining neutrality.

**Washington's
decision for
peace.**

According to the treaty negotiated by Jay, Great Britain abandoned the northwest posts and removed one of the charges against her that she had neglected to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1783, but she refused compensation for the slaves she had carried off. One of the two charges against the United States for failure to comply with the treaty of 1783 was met by the

**The Jay
treaty.**

provision that a commission be appointed to determine the amount due on the old debts to merchants in Great Britain. This commission was appointed but could come to no agreement, and by a treaty in 1802 the United States paid Great Britain \$2,600,000 in full settlement of the claims. The other charge of the British that the Americans dishonored the treaty of 1783 by refusing to remunerate the Loyalists for their losses, the Jay treaty passed over in silence. The British so far met the American demand for a commercial treaty as to open the ports of Great Britain to American vessels, and even those of the West Indies to American vessels of a certain size. This last concession as to the West Indies, however, was coupled with the condition that the United States must on her part agree not to export to any part of the world molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or *cotton*, which so angered the Senate of the United States that in ratifying the treaty it refused to accept the West Indian concession with its humiliating proviso.

Not a single contested principle of international law as to neutral trade was yielded by the British in the treaty, not even the right of impressment of seamen. The United States neutral vessels would, therefore, still be liable to capture and confiscation if they carried to France the alleged contraband foodstuffs, broke through a paper blockade, carried an enemy's goods, or traded in the French West Indies, and their sailors would still be liable to impressment. There was some compensation to the Americans in the provision of the treaty for the appointment of a commission to determine the extent of any unwarranted losses already inflicted on the American vessels by the British. The commission met but disbanded without being able to come to an agreement, and later the British by treaty awarded the Americans \$10,000,000 for their losses. Finally, the Jay treaty provided for the appointment of a commission to settle a dispute which had arisen concerning the northeastern boundary line between Canada and the United States, the question being which was the river mentioned as the St. Croix in the treaty of 1783.

Unacceptable as the treaty was on account of the refusal of the British to give up their practices upon the sea, it averted war with Great Britain. This seemed to Washington and the conservative commercial classes a distinct triumph, but the friends of France and many other Americans considered the treaty a disgrace. Hamilton was stoned for defending the agreement, while the President himself was abused in language which, he said, "could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket."

The Jay treaty became known in France late in the year 1795.

B. J.
The rights of
neutrals in
the treaty.

Reception of
the treaty in
the United
States.

That their old ally should make such a friendly agreement with their enemy seemed to the French unbelievable. The United States minister to France, James Monroe, sympathized with the French position, and was recalled for his indiscreet criticism of his own government. France refused to receive his successor, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and promptly ordered new captures of American merchantmen; nor did the French resume friendly relations with the United States for several years.

Two other important treaties were arranged by Washington. One with Spain recognized at last the old claim of the United States, based on the treaty of 1783, that she had the right to ship produce down the Mississippi and out from the Spanish port of New Orleans without the payment of a duty; another, with the Barbary States of the northern shores of Africa, promised to these free-booters of the Mediterranean a bribe of shiploads of presents in return for security from capture for the vessels of the United States.

French
hostility.

Two other
treaties.

These trade treaties with the European nations, like those concluded in the previous decade with France, Holland, Sweden, and Prussia, show the efforts of the new nation to reach out for world-wide trade. Another phase of the same movement, small at first but destined to grow, was the bold attempt of the merchantmen of the United States to open an Asiatic trade. Before the Revolution the longest voyages of these ships had taken them only as far as the west coast of Africa, but immediately after the treaty of peace with Great Britain merchants of New York and Philadelphia fitted out the *Empress of China*, loaded her with ginseng and other articles of commerce attractive to the Chinese, and on February 22, 1784, started her on the long voyage to China for tea and other Chinese products. She arrived in Canton, China, in six months, after a journey of thirteen thousand seven hundred miles. The next year she returned, and the following year a ship from Salem, Massachusetts, started out on a similar voyage. In 1786 eight vessels sailed for the Orient, in 1789 fifteen.

The begin-
ning of
trade with
China.

Four years after the *Empress of China* rounded the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean, the *Columbia*, Captain John Kendrick, and the *Lady Washington*, Captain Robert Gray, rounded Cape Horn into the Pacific with cargoes of trinkets which they exchanged with the native Indians on the present north-western coast of the United States for the furs of the sea otter, the seal, and other fur-bearing animals. This new cargo they carried to Canton, China, where they bartered away the furs to the Chinese for

Discovery of
the Colum-
bia River.

teas, silks, and porcelains for the Boston market. The *Columbia* returned home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus an American vessel sailing under the American flag circumnavigated the globe for the first time.

In a similar voyage in 1792 Captain Gray in the *Columbia* discovered the Columbia River and this vessel sailed around the globe a second time.

Most of the chief ports of the New England and Middle States were interested in the new trade with the Orient, among them Boston, Salem, Newport, Nantucket, New Bedford, and New Haven, and many a fortune was derived from the "India ships," as those engaged in the

Asiatic trade were called. On some voyages the profits reached one thousand per cent.



MEDAL STRUCK FOR THE VOYAGE
OF THE "COLUMBIA"

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

As the end of his second term drew near, President Washington desired to give parting words of counsel to his fellow-countrymen, and so highly respected was he that this step seemed most appropriate, although it was required neither by the Constitution nor by Congress. No other President, with the exception of Andrew Jackson, has presumed to follow the example. Washington begged the people to cherish the Union of the states, pointing out how North, South, East, and West were mutually helpful to one another, he sounded a warning against political parties which represented mere sections, and against too violent partisanship in national parties; and he advised against further amendment of the Constitution. Religion and morality, as "indispensable supports" to "political prosperity," were urged upon all. He exhorted the country to "observe good faith and justice with all nations," to "cultivate peace and harmony with all." "It is our true policy," he declared, "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." In other words, he would have the nation in its foreign relations maintain the principles of his own proclamation of neutrality. In the midst of the Civil War, sixty-five years later, President Abraham Lincoln considered these words of the first President so wise that he requested his fellow-citizens to assemble and listen to the reading of the entire address, and in almost every city, village, and hamlet in the Northern States this was done on the twenty-second of February, 1862.

Washington's
farewell words.

In 1796 Vice President John Adams received the nomination of the Federalist party for the presidency at the hands of the congressional caucus or convention of the members of that party in Congress, while the caucus of the Democratic-Republicans gave a similar nomination to their founder, Thomas Jefferson. The congressional caucus method of nomination was secret, liable to intrigue, and undemocratic, but it was a gathering of party leaders that was easily assembled in these early days when poor roads and bridges rendered national gatherings difficult. Adams was chosen President by the electors with a vote in the electoral colleges of 71, against 68 for Jefferson, who became Vice President. In this one instance the system of election brought into office a President and a Vice President of different parties.

John Adams,
the second
President.

• CONTINUED TROUBLES WITH FRANCE

President Adams took up with energy the question of relations with France, bequeathed to him as an unsettled problem from the previous administration. With the consent of the Senate he sent three special commissioners to France to negotiate a treaty of friendship, just as Washington had sent Jay to Great Britain to straighten out relations with that country. The French statesmen offered open insult to these commissioners by demands for huge bribes as a necessary preliminary to negotiations. One of the commissioners, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, spurned the proposal with the indignant exclamation, "No, no, no, not a sixpence," which his eulogists have expanded into "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute," and President Adams voiced the sentiment of the country when he declared in a message to Congress that he would not send "another minister to France without assurance that he would be received as the representative of a great, free, and independent nation." In communicating to Congress the insulting demands of the French the President omitted giving the real names of the French agents concerned, but substituted in their places in the published dispatches the letters X. Y. and Z., and the episode came to be known as the "X. Y. Z. affair."

The "X. Y.
Z. affair."

The spirit of war was aroused in the United States. By enthusiastic votes the two houses of Congress provided for the organization of a new army with Washington as commander and for a large increase in the navy. A few successful encounters took place with the French frigates in the waters of the French West Indies, but war was not formally declared. In these hostile acts toward France the United States was simply retaliating for that country's

Reprisal on
France.

supposed hostile acts toward herself; in other words, the so-called naval war with France of 1798 was "a prolonged series of reprisals."

Contrary to the wishes of the leading members of his party, President Adams resumed friendly relations with France, when Napoleon Bonaparte, who had risen to supreme power in that country, made peaceful overtures. A treaty between the two nations followed in 1800, in which the United States, in return for the consent of France to the abrogation of the old treaty of alliance of 1778, definitely renounced its claim on France for damages to American shipping since the outbreak of the British-French war in 1793. France subscribed to the principle of the United States that "free ships make free goods," but she did not renounce any of her other contentions concerning the rights of neutrals on the sea in time of war.

FEDERALIST MISTAKES IN INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The statesmanship that had guided the Federalists in their organization of the government and in their conduct of foreign affairs seemed to desert the party in their administration of internal affairs under Adams. As the excitement against France increased from month to month in 1798 the Democratic-Republican party, which prided itself on friendliness with France, was completely eclipsed in popular esteem by the Federalists, who, as the party in power, stood for war. In the rising war spirit President Adams became very popular, but he failed to make a wise use of his power. He gave his assent to the passage of three unwise laws, which were aimed primarily at the French immigrants and sympathizers, though he was opposed in the step by some of the strongest men of the party, such as Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall. First, the Naturalization Act, which raised from five to fourteen years the period of residence required of foreigners before naturalization, reversing the traditional policy of welcome to immigrants which had characterized the country from the beginning. Second, the Alien Act, which gave to the President the power to send out of the country "all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States," another thrust at immigrants. Third, the Sedition Act, which made it a crime to "write, print, utter, or publish scandalous and malicious writing" against the President or Congress, "with the intent to defame" them or, "to bring them or either of them, into contempt or disrepute," a blow at freedom of speech and of the press.

Conservative Europe, backed by the ideals and traditions of a civilization centuries old, could hardly have gone farther in checking freedom. An unfriendly attitude toward aliens and attacks on the

Internal administration.
Three unwise laws.

Peace with France.

freedom of the press and on free speech might have been expected in long-established monarchies; indeed at this very time such laws were temporarily on the statute books of Great Britain. That such laws were passed as the acts of a free country on the liberty-loving frontier in a time of peace, is a matter of wonder. Evidently changes had been going on in the United States.

Significance
of the laws.

Life on the seaboard, which had been the first American frontier, was undergoing a change, and in some ways it already more resembled the life of Europe than its own original condition in the wilderness or the life on the frontier west of the Alleghanies. There was a marked tendency toward conservatism. Manufacturing still lagged, but thanks to the stimulus of the new opportunities opened by the wars in Europe, commerce on the sea and the allied interest of shipbuilding were larger industries than ever before and were laying the foundations of great fortunes. New companies were speculating in western lands, and the Bank of the United States and smaller private banks were affording increased banking opportunities. With greater wealth came the conservatism which usually accompanies commercial prosperity.

Explanation
of the con-
servative
reaction.

While the seaboard was tending to conservatism, the West, progressive, restless, independent, maintained the characteristics of frontier life. As the frontier has gradually marched from year to year across the continent to the Pacific, conservatism has slowly followed, and the interaction of the ideas of the East and of the West has played a large part in shaping the national destiny.

The inter-
action of the
East and
the West.

The Democratic-Republican protest against the Federalist laws found expression in Virginia and Kentucky in resolutions passed by their legislatures in 1798, known as the Virginia and the Kentucky Resolutions, which embodied principles of far-reaching importance. These resolutions, from the pens of Madison and Jefferson respectively, declared the

The Virginia
and Ken-
tucky Reso-
lutions of
1798.

Alien and the Sedition Acts unconstitutional. They set forth the doctrine of states' rights according to which it was claimed, first, that when the Constitution was formed, the states by a common agreement united to create the national government and intrusted to it certain powers; second, that the national government so created was authorized to act simply as the agent of the states, which were the real sovereigns, and to do only those things which were specifically granted to it in the compact or Constitution; and third, that the right to decide whether the national government did or did not act according to the terms of the compact, belonged to the states alone, the creators of the national

government. The legislature of Kentucky went a step farther the following year, and added to these premises the logical conclusion that if a state should decide that the national government had acted contrary to the agreement, for example by passing unconstitutional laws in Congress, the states could declare those laws null and void. No other states indorsed the stand of Virginia and Kentucky, though copies of the resolutions were sent to all the legislatures.

The theory of government embodied in these resolutions is sometimes called the compact theory of the Constitution. How it would work out in actual practice was not at the time made clear. Its enemies declared that it would not work at all. They pointed out how it might easily happen that some states would choose to nullify one law, other states another law, and so on, until the national government would become an object of ridicule and its laws be reduced to confusion. These were the arguments of Washington, Adams, and the Federalists, who favored accepting the Supreme Court as the final judge for all the states in matters concerning the interpretation of the Constitution, on the ground that in this way only could the dignity of the national government be safeguarded and the uniformity of the national laws throughout the Union be secured.

The principles of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions led to many conflicts between the states and the national government, particularly in New England before and during the war of 1812, when that section was opposed to the policy of the national government, and in South Carolina in 1832, when that state actually nullified a law of the United States. The influence of the theory reached its height when it played an important part in bringing on the Civil War between the Northern and Southern States in 1861.

In the last weeks of the administration of President Adams, when the Federalists knew that they must soon give up their control of the executive and legislative branches of the government, they passed a law creating sixteen new United States judgeships, a number far beyond the needs of the time, and the President filled the places with the members of his own party. These were the "midnight judges," so named because Adams was said to have been occupied far into the night of his last day in office signing their commissions. Six weeks before the end of his administration Adams appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States John Marshall of Virginia, who is generally recognized as the greatest judge who ever sat upon the Supreme Bench.

A bitter dispute arose over the presidential election of 1800. The Constitution directed the presidential electors, when they came together in their respective states, to vote by ballot for two persons, the one receiving the greatest number of votes, if a majority, to become President, and the one receiving the next highest number of votes, if a majority, to become Vice President. This provision was made in the expectation that each elector would exercise his own independent judgment in casting his ballot, but that a sufficient number would usually agree to give a majority of votes to one candidate. In case the colleges failed to elect, the choice of the President was to devolve upon the House of Representatives and that of the Vice President upon the Senate. For some strange reason it was not foreseen by the makers of the Constitution, or if foreseen no provision was made for the contingency, that political parties would arise among the voters, which would deprive the electors of their freedom of choice. In 1800 party loyalty brought it about that the Democratic-Republican electors cast their ballots in the electoral colleges for the candidates selected for them by their party. Every Democratic-Republican elector voted for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, who thus were tied for the first place with 73 votes each, while President Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney received the Federalist vote of 65 and 64 respectively. The House of Representatives voted off the tie in favor of Jefferson, who became President, while the Vice Presidency fell to Burr. To avoid a tie vote in the future the twelfth amendment of the Constitution was adopted in 1804, directing the electors to ballot for President and Vice President separately.

Dispute over
the presiden-
tial election
of 1800.

THE SERVICES OF THE FEDERALISTS

With the close of the administration of Adams the régime of the Federalists ended, and a long period of Democratic-Republican rule in national affairs was begun. The Federalists had placed the government on a firm footing and established valuable precedents. They had given the nation its first tariff, and had satisfied the foreign and domestic creditors of the country as to the good faith of the government; they had created the national capital at Washington, set up the national bank, passed the Judiciary Act, and used the national military power with energy against an incipient insurrection and against the Indians; they had shown a firm hand amidst difficulties in dealing with Great Britain, France, and Spain, and on the whole had been successful in the conduct of foreign affairs; and they had encouraged a capitalist class and

The services
of the Feder-
alists.

fostered business. In all these matters they had acted on the theory of loose construction of the Constitution, and had insisted on exercising the national powers to the full, with the welfare of the nation as a whole in view rather than that of the separate states. However, with their leanings toward aristocracy, they wandered too far from the democratic spirit of the country, and for this they were thrust from power.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What were the chief problems of the national government under the Federalist régime? What were the chief triumphs of the Federalists? What were the leading features of Hamilton's financial policy? Describe the work of the first Congress. What were the leading mistakes of President Washington? How do you account for the rise of political parties under Washington? Why are political parties necessary? Mention at least three instances of alleged ingratitude to France on the part of the United States from 1776 to 1801. Was each justifiable? Was it a mistake for Adams to continue the cabinet of Washington? Why? What were some of the accusations against Washington? What is nullification? Were there any instances of nullification up to 1801? What good purpose was served by the Whisky Rebellion? What is a treaty? How does a treaty differ from arbitration? Define "constitutional" and "unconstitutional." What was the importance of the Jay treaty? From what sections of the country in general and from what classes of society was the Federalist party recruited? What is sectionalism in American politics? Do you think Hamilton's financial measures would have succeeded if the country had experienced poor crops or a financial panic at that time? What does the Genêt episode prove ought to be the conduct of diplomatic representatives in a foreign country? What probably suggested to President Washington advising his fellow-citizens to avoid alliances with European nations?

Look up life of
Jefferson.

B.

PART V

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 1801-1841

CHAPTER XVI

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

NEW PRINCIPLES IN INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

JEFFERSON came to the presidential chair as the champion of democracy, in opposition to aristocracy and to conservatism. In a notable book on "Democracy and Liberty," an unfriendly critic, **The new** Lecky, from whose "American Revolution" we have **era.** already quoted, has sneered at democracy as government by the "poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable, who are necessarily the most numerous." Yet the formulation of the democratic idea of popular participation in government may fairly be looked upon as Jefferson's greatest achievement and one of the greatest achievements in the whole history of national politics. It was of distinctly more value than either the theory of strict construction of the Constitution or that of states' rights, the other leading contentions of the Jeffersonian party. Jefferson's ideals of democracy, though as old as the colonies themselves, were not thoroughly worked into the fabric of national life at once but are still in process of progressive application.

The foremost leader of the Democratic-Republicans was Jefferson himself. The Secretary of State, James Madison, who since 1789 had performed useful services in the House of Representatives as a member from Virginia, and Albert Gallatin, **Democratic-Republican leaders.** a young Swiss immigrant, who as Secretary of the Treasury made a record second only to that of Hamilton, were among the strong men of the party.

At his inauguration Jefferson disregarded the precedents of the two Federalist Presidents, who at their inauguration had been accompanied to the capitol in state, and walked with a few friends **Jefferson's inauguration.** to the simple ceremony. His inaugural address was a striking document. He pleaded for "a wise and frugal government,

which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." The essential principles of good government he summed up as follows: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political: — peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none: — the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies — the preservation of the general government in its constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad."

As a further break with Federalist precedent, Jefferson sent written messages to Congress instead of appearing before the assembled legislators in person, and his example in this respect was followed till the presidency of Woodrow Wilson.

The Democratic-Republicans passed few important laws in Congress. The Alien and Sedition Laws, which by their own provisions expired a few years after their enactment, were not renewed; the Naturalization Act was amended by the reduction of the term of residence in the country required of a foreigner before naturalization, from fourteen back to the original term of five years, where it still remains; taxes were lowered and the size of the navy reduced. The national military academy at West Point on the Hudson was established in 1802. The truth is, that when charged with the responsibility of administering national affairs, the followers of Jefferson found that their ideal of a central government with restricted powers was not practical; and their most important measures, such as the purchase of Louisiana and the retaliatory acts against Great Britain and France for their insulting practices on the sea, were based on a loose construction of the Constitution and presupposed a strong central government.

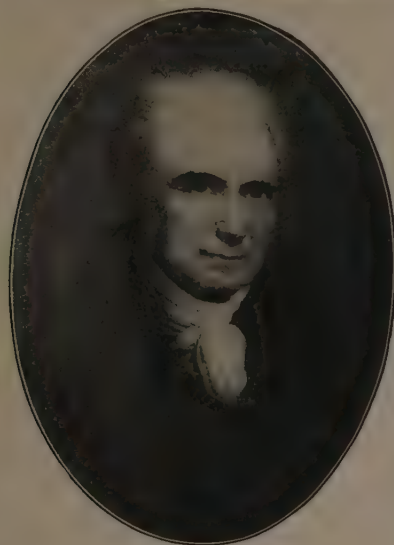
One of the first measures of the new administration was to legislate the "midnight judges" out of office by the repeal of the law creating the offices to which they had been appointed. The Supreme Court could not be so easily managed. It was galling to the victorious party that the national tribunal was in the hands of Federalist judges, with John Marshall as Chief Justice, in a position to wield the power of the court in favor of loose construction and a strong central government against their own professions of strict construction and states' rights. Early in

**Written
presidential
messages.**

**Democratic-
Republican
theory and
practice.**

**The attack
on the courts
and its
failure.**

1803 came the decision in the case of *Marbury v. Madison*, in which the court held that it had the power to declare a law null and void, if this law was contrary to the Constitution, and that the court must



JOHN MARSHALL

necessarily have this power if it was to exercise its function of guarding the Constitution as "the supreme law of the land."

The courts of the separate states had already exercised the power to set aside the laws of their own leg-
The power of the courts.
 islatures, but the assertion by the Supreme Court of the same right over the laws of the Congress was altogether unprecedented. The decision in *Marbury v. Madison* was the Supreme Court's first great decision bearing on the powers of the various branches of the central government, and it gave to the court an importance in the government of which the framers of the Constitution probably never dreamed. The authority once

assumed the tribunal has successfully maintained against the occasional opposition both of Congress and of the Executive. Down to the present day the national court has declared null and void at least twenty-one acts of Congress and two hundred state laws, while the state courts are now setting aside as unconstitutional the acts of the state legislatures at the rate of from fifty to seventy-five annually.

President Jefferson was incensed at the stand of the court. If the doctrine of *Marbury v. Madison* held, said he, the Constitution "is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they can twist and shape into any form they please." He
Unsuccessful impeachment of the judges.
 believed that Congress and the President had as much right as the court to decide on the constitutionality of laws, and that the court had no right to force its ideas on either. The House of Representatives proceeded to impeach Judge Chase of the Supreme Bench before the Senate of the United States, in the hope that by this method they might rid themselves of the Federalist judges one by one and appoint Democratic-Republicans in their places. The Senate sat

as a court to hear the evidence but voted against removal, and the Federalist judges were safe.

The Democratic-Republican distrust of the courts was reflected in several states, which changed the tenure of the judges of the state courts from a continuous term "during good behavior" to a term limited in duration to a prescribed number of years, and changed the method of their selection from appointment by the legislature to election by the people.

**Changes in
the judiciary
of the states.**

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

By far the most important event in the first administration of Jefferson was the purchase for \$15,000,000 of the French territory covering the entire Mississippi Valley in the interior of the continent, from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. The new area of 875,000 square miles was somewhat larger than the original area of 830,000 square miles, with which the country started on its independent career in 1783, and included the present states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska, and parts of Louisiana, Minnesota, Texas, North and South Dakota, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana.

Rumors had come from Europe that France, under the rule of Napoleon, had embarked on the policy of restoring the colonial empire of the French in the interior of North America, which she had given up to the Spaniards in 1763, and that Spain had already ceded back to France this vast tract. The vision of the mouth of the Mississippi in the hands of the strong power of France stirred President Jefferson to action. It was down the Mississippi and past the port of New Orleans that the settlers of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio found the most convenient outlet to a market for their products, as we have already seen. To ship these over the mountains to the seaboard was well-nigh impossible, so that the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi was indispensable to the Westerners. In their interests President Washington had made the treaty with Spain in 1795, securing to the Americans of the interior the right to ship their goods past New Orleans to the ocean free of duty. Not till they had gained this concession were the Westerners entirely loyal to the Union; but now, with a change of masters at New Orleans pending, that free outlet to the sea might be taken away. The prosperity of the whole Mississippi Valley was jeopardized.

**Importance
of the pos-
session of
the mouth
of the
Mississippi.**

When it was definitely learned that France had acquired Louisiana,

Jefferson sent commissioners to Paris to negotiate for the purchase of so much of the territory as lay east of the mouth of the Mississippi, including New Orleans. To their surprise Napoleon offered to the commissioners to sell to the United States the whole of the vast tract in the interior, and the commissioners, the President, and the Senate accepted the offer. Napoleon's willingness to part with Louisiana is to be explained on two grounds, first his desire to prevent its falling into the hands of the British, who were stronger on the sea than the French, and second, his eagerness to add the purchase money to his national treasury for the prosecution of his European wars.

**Negotiation
of the
purchase.**

Jefferson acted on the conviction that the mouth of a great river should be in the hands of the same nation which controlled its upper waters, and that the interior of the continent should belong to the power which controlled the coast. Looking to the future, he believed in giving to the people the opportunity to expand westward. The political opposition to the purchase was confined mainly to the people on the seaboard, where there was jealous fear that the West would assume too great importance with this vast addition of territory. They put forth the argument, first, that the United States had no express right by the Constitution to annex new territory, an argument based on strict construction turned against the Democratic-Republicans themselves; second, that the coast regions could ill afford to lose those of their fellow-citizens who might migrate to the new country; and third, that the addition of the new territory would make the United States too large to govern. This was before the days of the telegraph and the railroad, so that this last objection had more weight than might seem at the present time.

**Arguments
for and
against
territorial
annexation.**

The constitutional argument of strict construction was met by the loose construction argument that under the general right to make treaties there was certainly included the right to make this particular treaty, for annexation of territory was one of the topics most commonly dealt with in treaties between sovereign nations. Jefferson himself at first felt that he was not authorized by the Constitution to make the purchase and he wished a constitutional amendment authorizing it, but he finally set his scruples aside on the ground that the acquisition represented the will of the people, and posterity has approved the step.

**The Demo-
cratic-Rep-
ublican accept-
ance of loose
construction.**

In 1805 Congress divided the French purchase into two territories, Orleans in the south and Louisiana in the north. In 1810 the Supreme Court confirmed the right of Congress to govern the annexed terri-

territories, declaring that "the power of governing and of legislating for a territory is the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire and hold territory. Could this position be contested, the Constitution of the United States declares 'Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States.'" Orleans was admitted into the Union as the state of Louisiana in 1812, against the bitter opposition of New England; but the name of Louisiana Territory continued to be applied to the northern part of the purchase.

From the old French town of St. Louis on the Mississippi, in May, 1804, two army captains, Meriwether Lewis, President Jefferson's private secretary, and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark, set out under the auspices of the national government on a scientific expedition to explore the new lands. Forty-five members were included in the party. A journey of six months took them two thousand miles up the Missouri to a point still within the Louisiana territory, where they pitched their winter camp. The next spring brought them to the sources of the Missouri, formed by the junction of three small streams, which they promptly named Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin; and thence, under the guidance of an Indian girl, they came over the crest of the Rocky Mountains into a new country, not contained in the purchase from France, where the rivers flowed to the west. Following down one of these, the Columbia, they reached the Pacific in November, 1805, and returned to St. Louis the following year.

The expedition enriched science by the discovery of new trees, flowers, and plants, by the mapping of the courses of unknown rivers, and by the observation and description of the manners, customs, language, and religion of new Indian tribes. As a commentary on the white man's treatment of the natives, it was noted that the farther from civilization the expedition proceeded, the more friendly were the Indians found to be, while the tribes living near the white settlements were almost uniformly hostile. The expedition forged another link in the chain, which was later to give to the United States its hold on the Columbia River country of Oregon, already visited by Captain Gray in the *Columbia* in 1792.

In 1805-1806, while Lewis and Clark were absent in the Northwest, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike of the army explored the headwaters of the Mississippi and then turning southward reached the Rocky Mountains near the present site of Denver and the peak which bears his name. He was captured by

**Organization
of the new
territory.**

**The expedi-
tion of Lewis
and Clark.**

**Results of the
expedition.**

**The explora-
tion of
Pike.**

Spanish soldiers, conducted through Spanish Texas, and finally released in Louisiana.

The presidential campaign of 1804 came on while President Jefferson was at the flood tide of personal popularity, and he was re-elected over the Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. The vote of 162 to 14 in the electoral colleges showed how thoroughly the nation indorsed the principles of the Democratic-Republicans and the policy of territorial expansion.

The presidential campaign of 1804.

Early in Jefferson's second term the West again came into prominence in connection with the schemes of Aaron Burr. The political career of Burr was one of the most unlucky in the history of American politics. Although a lawyer of national reputation, he twice failed to reach the goal of his ambition, the presidency of the United States in the one instance and in the other the governorship of the state of New York. In each case he attributed his failure to the opposition of Alexander Hamilton. Duelling was then a common practice, and although Burr was Vice President of the United States he sent a challenge to his rival and in the encounter shot him dead. The office of the vice presidency was sadly dishonored. With his ambition fired perhaps by Jefferson's success in annexing Louisiana, at the close of his vice presidency Burr plunged into a scheme that discredited him still more. He secretly embarked on a quasi-military expedition down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the southwest, with no one knows what plans; probably he himself did not know definitely. He may have hoped to make himself ruler of a new state in the Valley of the Mississippi, or to deprive Spain of the northern province of Texas and to set himself up as King or Emperor of a new nation. Whatever the aim, the undertaking came to an inglorious end. Burr was arrested and tried for treason, but nothing was proved against him and he was released; his political career was ruined, and he passed the remainder of his ill-starred life in disgrace.

The conspiracy of Aaron Burr.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There were serious foreign complications in Jefferson's administration under two different sets of circumstances. President Washington's tribute to the pirates of the Mediterranean did not prove effective in saving the ships of the United States from capture and their crews and passengers from imprisonment. The government and sometimes individuals were called upon to pay additional ransoms of thousands of dollars. It was a not uncommon occurrence in the churches of the seaboard

War with the pirates of the Mediterranean Sea.

for the minister to read a notice of the capture by the pirates of some member of the congregation and to call for contributions for his ransom. Even the peaceful Jefferson wearied at last of submission and sent three different squadrons to stop the payments once for all. The last of these, under Commodore Preble, worsted the Pasha of Tripoli and his pirates so thoroughly that they agreed in 1805 to allow vessels flying the flag of the United States to sail unmolested. Promises extracted by force proved more effective than those induced by bribes, and with the exception of a slight repetition of this show of force to the Dey of Algiers a few years later, there was no further need of impressing on the Barbary States the lesson that they must not molest American citizens. In addition to the benefits accruing to commerce, was the training which the miniature war afforded to the navy of the United States.

The old troubles with the two warring powers of Great Britain and France concerning the rights of neutrals on the sea in time of war still continued, for the former, in spite of the professions of friendship in the Jay treaty, and the latter, in spite of the treaty of 1800, persisted in their attacks on the neutral merchantmen of the United States. The Americans by this time were employing a shrewd device to elude the Rule of 1756, which rule the British invoked to prevent the ships of the United States from taking part in the commerce of the French West Indies. Goods were brought from the French Islands to the ports of the United States, unloaded, and the regular tariff duties paid on them at the customhouses; then the cargoes were reloaded and shipped to France as American goods. Technically the Rule of 1756 had not been violated; practically all knew that it had been violated. The British side in the resulting dispute was expressed in the doctrine of the "continuous voyage," by which it was held that the American merchantmen sailing for France from the West Indies by way of the United States, did not accomplish two distinct voyages, but one continuous voyage. The British pointed out that at the reloading in the ports of the United States the vessels in question were accustomed to receive back again most of the tariff duty which they had already paid at the customhouse. The Americans, on the other hand, in their doctrine of the "broken voyage" insisted that the voyage to France originating in the neutral territory of the United States was separate and distinct from the voyage between the West Indies and the United States, and that, as both voyages were innocent, the ships engaged in them were not subject to capture. Backed by the power of a big navy, the British insisted on having their way and captured hundreds of the American

More
trouble over
the rights of
neutrals.
The rule of
1756 evaded.

ships concerned in the trade. Hard as this was for the Americans, it could not be expected that Great Britain, which had forced France to abandon the carrying trade with the French West Indies, would willingly allow its enemy to receive this aid from outside ships and the neutral Americans to reap commercial benefit from British victories. His Majesty's courts condemned the American vessels guilty of practicing the "broken voyage," unless the owners could show that they had honorably shipped the goods in question to the United States with the intention of having them remain there. As such proof was difficult, especially to the suspicious mind of the British court, the American losses were heavy.

In 1806-1807, by a series of proclamations or Orders in Council, the British stretched the idea of a paper blockade beyond all precedent, in their declaration of a blockade against all the coast of Europe under the control of France, to be effective against Paper blockades. neutral vessels, unless these vessels, seeking the prohibited ports, first called at a British port and there paid duty on their cargoes. Napoleon retaliated with the Berlin and Milan Decrees, declaring a blockade of all British ports in Europe and ordering the seizure of every vessel touching at a British port or suffering herself to be stopped and searched by the British. Of all Europe, only Sweden, Russia, and Turkey were open to the trade of neutrals. Since the belligerents did not possess ships enough to make a pretense of guarding the whole blockaded coast, these extensive blockades were not *de facto*, but existed on paper only. The neutral Americans, whose vessels were no longer free to go either to British or to French ports, clung to their former contention that international law recognized no such thing as a paper blockade, and in spite of the restrictions they continued their trade with the forbidden ports.

The procedure of the belligerents in enforcing their contentions was exasperating in the extreme to the Americans. The right of the belligerents to search and capture neutral ships carrying contraband of war or intending to break a blockade began, Enforcement of the paper blockades. it was contended, the moment the ship entered upon the high seas. Protected by this rule the British hovered off New York and other American ports to search all outgoing ships. There could be no formal objection to this as long as the arrest, search, and seizure took place beyond the three-mile limit, to which a nation's sovereignty extends into the sea; but this practical blockade of their ports, when they themselves were not parties to the war raging in Europe, seemed to the Americans an undue hardship.

The continued impressment of American citizens by the British

cruisers added to the ill-will between the two nations. Procedure was usually as follows: meeting with an American ship of commerce, the British captain would stop her by a shot across her bow, board her, search her, call the crew upon deck, inspect them, and without the least show of judicial fairness arbitrarily decide that certain members of the crew were British subjects and send them off in chains to serve on the British ships. It was difficult to distinguish an American from a British subject, resembling one another as they did in appearance, language, manners, and customs, so that through perfectly natural, even if not always willful, mistakes of identification, many an American citizen suffered a towering indignity. The statement was made in Congress in 1806 that at that time between 2,500 and 3000 Americans were performing enforced service in the British navy. Frenchmen and Americans could not so easily be mistaken for one another, and impressment of American citizens by the French was not so common.

Evident as was the outrage, it must be admitted that the fortunes of the British navy were at this time in a precarious condition. That it was losing thousands of sailors at a time when the services of these were of supreme importance in the struggle with France, was generally admitted, for conditions were better and wages higher on the American than on the British ships. Outside of the United States, too, there was universal approbation of the British contention of "once an Englishman, always an Englishman," which meant the denial of the right of a British subject to divest himself of British citizenship and become a citizen of another country. Such a one, sailing under the flag of his adopted country and claiming its protection, was still, in the eyes of the British, a subject of the King, a deserter liable to capture. The new nation of the United States, in need of willing hands to develop its resources, was the only prominent power to subscribe to the doctrine of naturalization. Nor was America herself consistent on the question. The President, Congress, and the courts on the one hand affirmed that a citizen of another country could transfer his allegiance to the United States, but, on the other hand, they refused to recognize the right of a citizen of the United States to expatriate himself, that is, to become a citizen of another country. The right of expatriation was not recognized by the United States till 1868.

Beyond the question whether or not Great Britain retained her hold on her citizens after they were formally adopted as citizens by another nation, there was the question whether or not she could rightfully take by force from the deck of an Ameri-

**Continued
impressment
of American
seamen.**

**Naturaliza-
tion and ex-
patriation.**

**The right of
impressment.**

can ship those of her citizens who made no pretense to naturalization in the United States. The American shipmasters contended that they were within their rights when they availed themselves of the services of the sailors of every nation, and that so long as these men remained on an American ship they were under the protection of the flag of the United States and could not be taken away by the officials of another nation. Moreover, according to the American claims, the deck of an American ship was American soil, on which British officers had no right to exercise any authority whatsoever. Both these claims the British flatly denied.

Except for its refusal to recognize the right of expatriation, the United States, defender of the rights of neutrals in time of war, was advocating principles of international law so far in advance of the times that the rest of the world did not accept her position for another half century. The delayed acceptance, when it did come, was a pleasing vindication of the United States for the stand which she had taken in a trying crisis.

The United States vindicated at last.

On one occasion in 1807 a British ship, the man-of-war *Leopard*, fired on an American warship, the *Chesapeake*, and impressed four of her seamen into the British service. In the excitement of the moment President Jefferson might have begun war on Great Britain with the enthusiastic support of the whole nation, but he took other counsel.

An aggravated case of impressment.

Out of his desire for peace the President gave his consent to the Non-Importation Act of Congress, to bring Great Britain to terms, but this old weapon of pre-revolutionary days made no impression on the unfriendly British. At the bidding of the President, the minister to Great Britain, James Monroe, attempted to relieve the situation by a treaty, after the fashion of the Jay treaty. Besides containing no renunciation by the British of the right of impressment, paper blockade, and the other objectionable practices on the sea, the Monroe treaty went so far as to dictate what duties Congress should levy on the importations from the West Indies in order to constitute the voyage from the United States to France a new voyage, without infraction of the Rule of 1756, and President Jefferson refused to send the treaty to the Senate for ratification.

Jefferson's first two policies in the crisis.

Congress, still clinging to the idea of peace, in December, 1807, passed the Embargo Act at the suggestion of the President, to starve the belligerents into respectful treatment of American commerce. Under the provisions of this act, which forbade American ships leaving domestic ports for the ports of foreign

The Embargo Act.

countries without the special permission of the President, all shipping between the United States and Great Britain and between the United States and France practically came to an end. Those two countries, however, got along well enough without the American food products, and the most disastrous effects of the restriction were felt in the United States itself, where thousands of sailors were thrown out of work and hundreds of ship owners ruined. Earlier, when the ships had been free to sail at their own risk, the owners had made money in spite of the numerous captures at the hands of the British and the French; and business had been heavy, as may be judged from the fact that the value of the exports from the United States advanced from \$26,000,000 in 1793 to \$108,000,000 in 1807, the year before the embargo. The commercial classes preferred that their ships should continue to run the risk of capture, since those that got through in safety brought enormous profits. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut denounced the embargo and the measures taken to secure its enforcement as oppressive and unconstitutional, while Connecticut, bordering close on nullification, refused the aid of its state militia to the national administration for carrying out the act.

After a year of dissatisfaction and hardship on the seaboard the embargo was repealed. From the point of view of the Democratic-
The repeal of the act. Republican doctrine of strict construction there had never been any direct constitutional authority to institute it in the first place, for only by the loosest kind of construction could the power to kill foreign commerce, involved in the idea of an embargo, be derived from the constitutional power of Congress to regulate foreign commerce.

B. J. W. While the dissatisfaction over the embargo was at its height the country was called upon to elect a new president. The Democratic-
The presidential election of 1808. Republicans succeeded in maintaining their hold on the government in spite of their unpopular handling of the commercial situation. In a conscious attempt to strengthen the precedent in favor of two terms only for the executive, President Jefferson refused a third nomination at the hands of his party. Said he: "General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to any one after a while, who shall endeavor to extend his term." The Secretary of State, James Madison, who was looked upon as the President's candidate, received 122 votes and the election, to 47 for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who was for a third time the Federalist candidate.

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SPECIAL TOPICS

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2. AARON BURR. McMASTER, *United States*, III, 42-88; H. ADAMS, *United States*, II, 160-191, and III, 219-344; W. F. McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*; *Epochs*, IV, 155-158, and 180-185; HILL, *Decisive Battles of the Law*, 27-65; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, IV, 258-307.

3. THE EXPEDITION OF LEWIS AND CLARK. A. C. LAUT, *Pathfinders*, 307-333; THWAITES, ED., *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*; GRINNELL, *Trails*, 154-252; *Epochs*, IV, 159-169; N. BROOKS, *First Across the Continent*; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, IV, 308-343.

4. THE EMBARGO ACT. McMASTER, *United States*, III, 276-338; H. ADAMS, *United States*, IV, 152-290, 317-360, and 432-454; *Contemporaries*, III, 403-410; *Epochs*, IV, 201-204.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

HALE, *Man Without a Country*, and *Philip Nolan's Friends*; M. E. SEAWELL, *Decatur and Somers*; J. K. PAULDING, *John Bull and Brother Jonathan*; IRVING, *Knickerbocker History of New York*; C. F. PIDGIN, *Blennerhassett*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Why was the Democratic-Republican party in Jefferson's time hostile to the courts? State the differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans. Why was it that the Democratic-Republicans passed few important laws in Congress? How do you account for the fact that the United States consented to pay tribute to the pirates of the Mediterranean? Give the British side of the dispute over the rights of neutrals on the sea in time of war. Why did the Embargo Act fail? Explain what is international law. How does it grow? What were the mistakes of President Jefferson? What were the leading issues in current politics before the voters in the presidential campaigns of 1804 and 1808?

E. Thur.

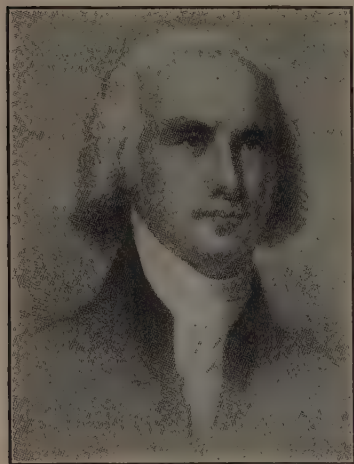
CHAPTER XVII

THE WAR OF 1812

PRELIMINARIES OF WAR

ALTHOUGH James Madison had been almost continuously in the public eye since the opening of the War of Independence, and although during that long time he had rendered distinguished public service, now that he had reached the supreme goal of political preferment his administration was not the success that his admirers had anticipated. He was a strong thinker, one of the most intellectual of American Presidents, but in the crisis, when war with Great Britain was impending

The political leaders in President Madison's administration.



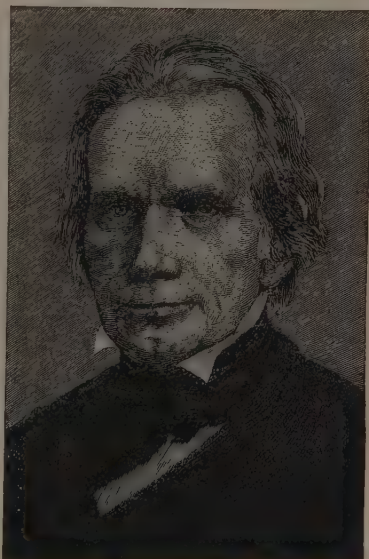
JAMES MADISON

and relations with France were in a precarious condition, his administrative ability proved hardly equal to the strain. His cabinet, too, with the exception of Albert Gallatin and James Monroe, was distinctly weak. Perhaps the most prominent man of the period was the eloquent young Kentuckian, Henry Clay, who held the post of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Born of poor parents in Virginia in 1777, Clay studied law, and at the age of nineteen "went west" into Kentucky to seek his fortune. His voice and his eloquence were his fortune, for he will always be remembered as Kentucky's greatest orator and one of the most persuasive speakers that ever appeared on the floor of

Congress. He was possessed of great energy and capacity for leadership, and held a foremost position in the councils of his party almost from the day of his advent into national politics. He was the idol of the West, their first great statesman. With him in Congress were John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, another young man destined to prominence, and the aged pioneer, John Sevier of Tennessee.

Great Britain and France were still at war, and each power still persisted in inflicting on the neutral commerce of the United States the same outrages that had caused trouble in the days of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. At the very end of Jefferson's last term of office Congress reluctantly repealed the Embargo Act and passed another superseding it, known as the Non-Intercourse Act, by the terms of which trade was to be open to every nation but Great Britain and France; and the President was empowered to resume commercial relations with either one of these powers which should first give up its objectionable practices. Nothing, however, was accomplished by this measure. In another year the restrictions of the act expired, and in a new law, known as "Macon's Bill No. 2," Congress provided that if one of the offending nations should give up the abusive practices and the other should not, the restrictions of the Non-Intercourse Act were to be revived by the President against the nation still offending.

More trouble with Great Britain and France.



HENRY CLAY

For a short time it seemed as if Great Britain were ready to desist. Her minister at Washington agreed to stop the attacks, and hundreds of ships, laden with full cargoes, put to sea. The British government promptly repudiated the act of the minister, rejected the treaty which he had signed contrary to instructions, called him home in disgrace, and ordered the seizure of the unlucky ships. The Emperor of France went even farther. By the Bayonne Decree, 1808, he confiscated all the American ships arriving in the ports of France, on the assumption that they must be British ships illegally flying the American flag since no American vessels could legally reach France. By the Rambouillet Decree, issued two years later, Napoleon sequestered over a hundred more American ships, in retaliation, as he said, for the Non-Intercourse Act of the United States.

Misunderstanding and treachery.

Indignation at both Great Britain and France was at fever heat. It was plain that the troubles of the United States were bound to end

in war either with one nation or with the other. After twenty years of harsh treatment and at the same time twenty years of national growth, the patience of the country was at an end. No longer would the peace-at-any-price policy of the commercial seaboard satisfy the young Americans of the West, who felt that war was a necessity if the national honor was to be maintained, and that commercial profits must no longer be allowed to dictate national policy.

Feeling against Great Britain was increased in the West by the belief that British emissaries were inspiring outbreaks of the Indians.

War inevitable. The Indians in the Northwest Territory, after their defeat by General Wayne in 1794, had remained quiet for almost a score of years, when suddenly a new Indian leader arose in the person of Tecumseh, who formed the ambitious plan of uniting the Indians of the various tribes in one grand assault against the encroaching whites. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, correctly scented the Indian unrest, and in 1811 engaged the savages in battle at Tippecanoe on the Wabash River in northern Indiana. Though, like Harmer and St. Clair before him, he allowed himself to be surprised, he retrieved himself and won a victory. The fighting began in the dim light of early morning and raged at the very tent doors of the soldiers. Sixty of the whites were killed and more than one hundred wounded; the losses of the savages were unknown, but their defeat was decisive and their power completely broken. The victory took place several hundred miles farther west than that of Wayne, showing that the whites were pushing on in their march in that direction. The same scenes were enacted on the frontier of the Southwest a little later, where an Indian massacre near Mobile Bay was promptly avenged by the whites under the leadership of Andrew Jackson.

Whether well founded or not, the belief was general in the United States that the British and the Indians stood together as allies and that the British were in part responsible for these uprisings.

THE SECOND WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The gathering spirit of hostility to Great Britain invaded the Congress that assembled in December, 1811. Speaker Clay, the most ardent "war hawk" of all, so composed the committees in the House of Representatives as to put the war party in complete control in that body; and the Senate was of the same mind. An act was passed to increase the size of the regular army, the President was authorized to enlist the services of fifty thousand

War declared on Great Britain.

volunteers, and an embargo, like that of 1808, was laid for ninety days on foreign commerce. The formal declaration of war against Great Britain, which passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 79 to 49 and the Senate by a vote of 19 to 13, was signed by the President June 18, 1812. The existence of a strong minority in opposition, centered mainly in commercial New England, together with the weakened condition of the army and navy under Jefferson's policy of retrenchment, and the diminished national revenue did not constitute favorable auspices under which to enter upon a foreign war; but "young America" had its way and the nation was committed to the conflict.

One day before the declaration of war by the United States, Great Britain repealed the obnoxious Orders in Council, by which the blockade of the French ports had been declared, but in the absence of telegraphic communications with Europe the news of the repeal was not received in the United States till after Congress had taken the fatal step.

**The repeal
of the British
Orders
in Council.**

So far as the disregard of the rights of neutrals on the sea in time of war was concerned, France was to all intents and purposes an aggressor as well as Great Britain. Both nations had impressed American seamen into their service, and both had disregarded the American contentions concerning the rights of neutrals, but in each case the British were the greater offenders. From the beginning of trouble in 1793 over nine hundred American ships had been seized by the British and only about five hundred and fifty by the French. The party of Jefferson and Madison, moreover, had always had a fondness for France, and there still rankled bitter memories of the War of Independence, so that from sentiment as well as from the extent of the injuries received, choice fell upon Great Britain as the national enemy. In the West, too, there was a hope that Canada might be wrested from Great Britain, as the thirteen colonies of the seaboard had desired in the days of the Revolution. War with the British offered opportunity for invasion of the enemy's territory on this side of the Atlantic, whereas in a war with France the enemy would have been more difficult to reach.

**Reasons for
the choice of
the British as
the national
enemy.**

Speaker Clay in the House of Representatives enumerated the causes of the appeal to arms as follows: the attitude of Great Britain toward neutral commerce,² the impressment of American seamen,² the instigation of the Indians to hostilities,⁴ and the refusal to give indemnities for the injuries the Americans had received. He openly confessed his desire to conquer Canada. James Monroe, Secretary of State, made an official declaration that 6257 citizens of the United States had been impressed by the British,

**Enumeration
of the causes
of the war.**

and "6257" became a popular watchword of the war party. The Federalists placed the number or cases of actual impressment of American seamen at 156.

The United States repeated its policy of 1775 and endeavored at the outset to wage an aggressive war and to capture Canada. The first army of invasion, under General Van Rensselaer, reached the Canadian side of the Niagara River, where it was turned back at the battle of Queenstown Heights, and the second, under General Smyth, which reached the same river, suffered a like fate. In the west, at Detroit, General Hull,

The first
year of the
war — on
the land.



SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
OPERATIONS ALONG THE CANADIAN BORDER

who had seen service in the War of the Revolution and was now far too old for active command, surrendered his post to the British without a shot, for the purpose, he said later, of saving the women and children from the scalping knife of the Indians. He was tried by court martial, convicted of cowardice, and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the President.

A glorious beginning on the sea was made by the Americans in a series of four victories, the most notable of which was that of the *Constitution* under Captain Hull, a nephew of General Hull, over the *Guerrière* off the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Seventy-nine British were lost in the encounter and their ship was completely wrecked, while the Americans lost in

The first
year of the
war — on
the sea.

killed and wounded only fourteen. "A small affair it might appear among the world's battles," says one historian; "it took but a half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first class power." An Englishman is reported to



U. S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION — "OLD IRONSIDES"

have said in Parliament, "It cannot but be too deeply felt that the sacred spell of the invincibility of the British navy is broken." The navy of the United States at this time numbered seventeen ships, while Great Britain had over one thousand.

In the autumn of 1812 the country went through its first presidential election in time of war. President Madison was renominated by his party, though it was charged that he secured this honor by a surrender of his own principles to those of the war party in the House of Representatives, headed by Speaker Clay and John C. Calhoun. DeWitt Clinton of New York ran on an Independent Democratic-Republican ticket, with the indorsement of the Federalists. The result was 128 votes for Madison and 89 for Clinton. Every northern seaboard state as far south as Maryland, that is, the commercial states, voted against the President, and the agricultural states of the South and the West for him. Vermont and Pennsylvania separated themselves from the rest of the North and gave their votes to Madison.

The first
presidential
election in
time of war.

On the ocean, in the second year of the war, the American vessels

were gradually bottled up by the superior numbers of the enemy's navy; but Commodore (then Commander) Perry, by a characteristic piece of American daring, won a victory at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. Both the British and the Americans by this time realized that the possession of Canada and possibly that of the Northwest Territory of the United States largely depended on the control of Lake Erie; and the two fleets, about evenly matched, met to decide the issue. The American fleet of nine vessels was gathered and equipped at Erie, Pennsylvania, some of the ships having been growing trees in the forest only a few months before. Perry had never been in action, but he succeeded in defeating the British; and he fired the hearts of his countrymen by his laconic dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The victorious fleet later conveyed an army under General Harrison across Lake Erie to Canada, where a fierce land battle was fought against the combined British and Indian forces on the Thames River. The great Tecumseh, who had joined his Indian forces to those of the British as soon as the war was declared, was killed, the British defeated, Detroit won back, and the Northwest Territory rendered secure. Attempts to invade Canada from New York State again failed.

The early months of the year 1814 were marked by the overthrow of Napoleon in Europe and the release of thousands of British veterans for service in America. There were two indecisive conflicts in July on the Canadian side of the Niagara River at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, after which the British, encouraged by the arrival of reënforcements from across the Atlantic, embarked on a bold offensive campaign by an invasion of the United States. They landed on the coast of Maine, the eastern part of which they occupied till the end of the war, and in August they made a dash up the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River. The capital city of Washington was taken and Baltimore threatened. President Madison and the cabinet were forced to flee in haste before the invaders to escape capture. Such priceless treasures as Stuart's portrait of Washington and the original draft of the Declaration of Independence were saved only by the wit of Mrs. Madison. Some of the official records were carried to places of safety by the officers of the government, but many fell into the hands of the British and were destroyed. The White House, the Capitol, and other public buildings were burned. Tradition has it that the British commander mounted the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives and in mock imitation of the

proceedings of that body put the question to his delighted men, "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned?" after which the building was fired. All was done under the direction and in the presence of commanding officers, who could hardly allege military necessity for their acts. The British defended their vandalism by the claim that they were but just revenge for the destruction of the capitol buildings of Upper Canada at York (Toronto) by the Americans in 1813. Shortly before the enemy fell back from their attempt on Baltimore a young American lawyer, Francis Scott Key, was detained overnight by the British, to whom he had gone to seek the release of a friend held as a prisoner. In the morning, beholding his country's flag still flying over Fort McHenry in Baltimore, he wrote the national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner."



OPERATIONS AROUND WASHINGTON

The force of invasion was felt in two more places. Less than one month after the sack of Washington Sir George Prevost, with a British force somewhat less than that of Burgoyne thirty-seven years before, marched south from the Valley of the St. Lawrence over Burgoyne's old route, in a determined effort to cut the United States into two parts, to separate the now half-hearted New England states from the more enthusiastic West and South. He was supported by a formidable fleet on Lake Champlain. His first, and as it proved, the decisive clash with the Americans came on September 11, a year and one day after Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and the victory of the American Captain Macdonough, only thirty years old, at the head of the little fleet on Lake Champlain, in the harbor of Plattsburg, was quite as brilliant as that of Perry. The ships of the foe were larger, more numerous, and better equipped than those of their opponents; yet after a battle of less than three hours they were forced to strike their colors. Prevost's army on the same day fought an indecisive land battle near the scene of the naval struggle, and then retreated back to Canada.

Repulse of
the British
on Lake
Champlain.

The last battle of the war and the last attempt of the enemy to invade the soil of the United States occurred on January 8, 1815, at New Orleans, where the British veterans from the wars against Napoleon were met in a terrific battle by the frontiersmen of the Southwest under Andrew Jackson. The

The victory
at New
Orleans.

British charged impetuously over the flat open country, and of their force of six thousand lost their leader, General Pakenham, and two thousand one hundred and thirty-seven men, while the Americans, with a smaller force, from behind their hastily constructed intrenchments, lost seventy-one. The stake of the battle was nothing less than the possession of the Louisiana country, and as the savior of this vast domain Andrew Jackson won a secure place in the hearts of his countrymen.

The opposition of the New Englanders to the war,

The commercial opposition of New England to the war.

like their opposition to the Embargo Act in 1808, was

chiefly commercial in its motive, for war and embargo alike tended to diminish the profits of their commerce on the sea.

The \$26,000,000 of exports of the year 1793, which had reached \$108,000,000 in 1807, fell to \$7,000,000 in 1814. To recompense themselves the ship owners took to privateering, just as they had during the War of the Revolution; and they contrived to bring back to the home ports almost two thousand British commercial vessels as prizes. This, however was a game that two could play, and it is quite certain that the American losses in privateering equaled their gains.

The dissatisfied spirit of New England was manifested by the militia of Massachusetts, who refused to march at the command of the

Other phases of New England's opposition.

President; by the several state legislatures, which passed laws to harass the national administration in the conduct of the war; and by the people themselves, who refused to lend their money to the government in the crisis as

rapidly as the war leaders desired. To the national loan of \$11,000,000, authorized by Congress in 1812, the New Englanders, though possessed of a large part of the wealth of the country, subscribed only \$1,000,000. Still they furnished more money than the less populous states which urged the war, more men than was their proportionate



SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60
EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS

share, and the hardships of the war, such as depredations on the coast, and damage to shipping, came chiefly upon them.

In the secret Hartford Convention of 1814, delegates from the five New England states debated plans for further resistance to the national government and sent commissioners to lay their grievances before President and Congress. "The acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void," said their remonstrance; "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." The same spirit had cropped out in New England at the time of the Louisiana purchase, the Embargo Act of 1807, and the admission of Louisiana into the Union as a state; and in no other section of the country had the theory of states' rights been more ardently advanced up to that time. Before the commissioners of 1814 arrived in Washington to perform their unpatriotic mission, the enthusiasm aroused by Jackson at New Orleans rendered the movement unpopular and plunged its leaders into disgrace, and the conclusion of peace served further to discredit the movement.

The country was still rejoicing over Jackson's victory, when the news arrived from Europe that on the day before Christmas, 1814, two weeks before the battle of New Orleans, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent in Belgium by the representatives of the two warring powers. Neither party gained territory by the agreement and neither paid indemnity to the other; the British did not open their home ports nor those in the West Indies to the commerce of the United States; they did not renounce the right of impressment, and they refused to admit error in their treatment of neutral commerce on the sea; but peace, the one thing gained in the treaty, was grateful to all.

Time's vindication of the Americans, after the treaty of peace, was not long withheld. No more cases of impressment of American seamen by British men-of-war have been recorded. In 1815, shortly after the treaty of peace, in a "convention of commerce and navigation" Great Britain opened her home ports, and fifteen years later those in the British West Indies, to the trading vessels of the United States. More than forty years later, in 1856, in common with France and other European states, she subscribed to the following rules of international law, enunciated at Paris, all of which represent the position of the United States in the days of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison: "First, the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war; second, neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war,

The Hartford Convention.

The treaty of peace at Ghent.

Vindication of the United States.

are not liable to capture under enemy's flag; third, blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." In these rules of Paris the subscribing nations also gave up privateering. The Americans have likewise been vindicated in their stand on impressment. The nations now uniformly follow the principle that the deck of a ship is to be regarded as the soil of the country whose flag it flies, and that the flag protects the sailors under it. The leading nations also now accept naturalization and expatriation.

THE WAVE OF NATIONALISM AFTER THE WAR

Most writers agree in characterizing the war of 1812-1815 as the "Second War of American Independence." Its results in foreign affairs were happy in two respects. First, it freed the commerce of the United States on the seas from interference by European powers; and second, it marked the end of any close connection between the politics of the United States and the affairs of Europe. Henceforth national development was to proceed along independent lines, apart from the rest of the world.

Results of
the war in
foreign
affairs.

Striking changes were taking place in domestic politics. The Democratic-Republicans emerged from the war in a dominant position politically, but with the principles of their opponents adopted as their own. The Federalists, discredited by their attitude in regard to the war, were fast losing standing as a party. Their rank and file went over to the Democratic-Republicans, bringing to the latter ideas of a strong national government in conflict with Jefferson's position of limited national powers. This tendency of the Democratic-Republicans toward nationalism was increased by the responsibilities of government. Just as Jefferson had forsaken his principles of strict construction in the emergencies of administration, so his party now exercised powers which, as an opposition party, it had resisted the right of the Federalists to exercise. The leading measures of the fourteenth Congress (1815-1817) revealed the strength of these newer tendencies in the ruling party.

Changes in
domestic
politics.

The first important act of this Congress was to set up the Second Bank of the United States, to take the place of the First Bank of the United States, which had been allowed to pass out of existence at the expiration of its charter in 1811, killed by Democratic-Republican votes. Without the aid of the national institution, the finances of the country during the war went from bad to worse, and banking business fell into the

The Second
Bank of the
United
States.

hands of more than one hundred new banks chartered by the states. Under the inharmonious and often unsound banking laws of the separate states, the new banks issued their notes for circulation as money just as had the bank of the United States, but whereas the notes of the latter, with coin back of them in the vaults of the bank, could be turned into coin at any time and hence circulated everywhere at their face value, the notes of the smaller banks, with little or no gold back of them, could not usually be turned into coin at the option of the holder and fluctuated in value like the paper money of Revolutionary days. Things came to such a pass before the peace of 1815 that all the state banks outside of Massachusetts formally refused to redeem any of their notes in coin.

In this strait and under the spell of the nationalizing influences of the war, the Democratic-Republicans took the step, which five years earlier they had refused to take, of chartering the Second Bank of the United States. In most respects the new bank was like its predecessor. Its capital stock was \$35,000,000 as against \$10,000,000 formerly; it received the government money on deposit and loaned it out at interest, and its notes, well secured by coin, circulated among the people at par, and were acceptable everywhere. A disturbing element from which the first bank had not suffered, was the existence of the state banks, ever jealous for their separate rights and privileges and ready to harass the larger institution at every turn.

**Nature of
the new
bank.**

Manufacturing industries had been struggling to establish themselves since the beginning of the Federal government, and now at the close of the war they were profoundly affected by the changed conditions. The hopes of Washington, Hamilton, and the Federalists that they might build up manufacturing in the United States by a protective tariff had been based largely on their knowledge of conditions in Great Britain at that time. In the industrial revolution which had set in in that country about 1760, manufacturing had made rapid strides. A series of great inventions furthered its progress. The most fundamental of all was the steam engine, invented by James Watt in 1769 and rapidly applied to all branches of manufacturing. Through the joint work of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton the old-fashioned domestic spinning wheel for the spinning of yarn was supplanted by machinery which would spin several thousand threads at once. Cartwright invented a power loom to do away with weaving by hand. As a result of these inventions the British rapidly developed from an agricultural into a manufacturing nation.

**Effect of the
war on manu-
facturing.**

In spite of strict laws passed in Parliament to prevent the exportation of the wonder-working machinery from Great Britain, plans and models got through to the United States, and Samuel Slater, "the father of American manufactures," set up the first complete cotton spinning machinery in the United States at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1789. With a supply of raw material close at hand in the cotton fields of the Southern States, there was every reason to hope that the United States would as speedily turn to cotton manufacturing as had Great Britain. The new tariff after 1789 was expected to encourage such a tendency.

The profits of the neutral commerce on the seas during the wars in Europe temporarily retarded the development of manufacturing in the United States, but the pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction with the Embargo Act of 1807, the Non-Intercourse Act, "Macon's Bill No. 2," and the War of 1812-1815. Floating capital, effectually shut out from neutral commerce and under the necessity of finding some form of investment, turned to manufacturing. Now began in earnest the industrial revolution in the United States. In 1803 there were five cotton factories in the United States, equipped with a few thousand spindles, and in 1808 fifteen factories with 8000 spindles. In 1811 the number of spindles had reached 80,000 and in 1815, 500,000. Whereas in 1803 only 1000 bales of cotton were consumed in these factories, the consumption in 1815 reached 90,000 bales and the value of the manufactured product was estimated at \$24,000,000. In the first factories the spinning was done by machinery and the weaving by hand. Cartwright's power loom for weaving was first installed in the United States by Francis C. Lowell, in his factory in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1811. The development of woolen factories was hampered by the lack of good domestic wool; yet the value of the woolen goods made in the new factories for the year 1815 was \$19,000,000. In a few years \$50,000,000 had been invested in cotton and woolen manufacturing alone. Iron mills also sprang up, especially in Pennsylvania.

The extent of the industrial revolution in the United States was reflected in the rapid growth of new centers of population, as capital turned from ocean commerce to manufacturing. The prosperity of Newport, Rhode Island, Salem and Newburyport, Massachusetts, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Hallowell, Maine, with their seafaring population, their traditions of the sea, and their stately mansions, now began slowly to decline before the rising importance of the new factory centers,

The new processes of manufacturing in the United States.

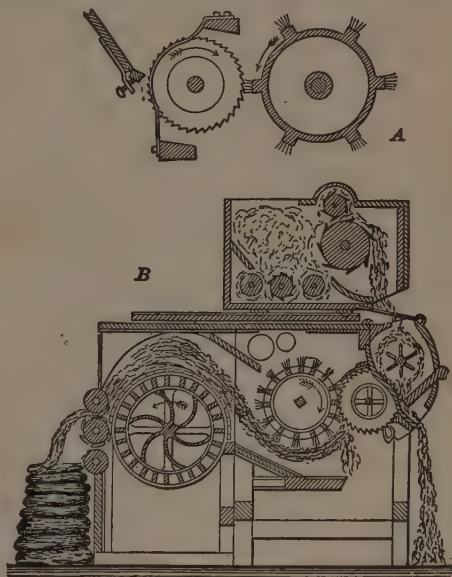
The industrial revolution in the United States.

New manufacturing towns.

such as Providence, Rhode Island, Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lewiston, Maine. In most instances the new industrial activities were centered on the streams of New England, where the falls and swift currents furnished cheap and abundant power.

While the manufactures of Great Britain were excluded from the United States by unfriendly commercial relations and then by war, the newly established American factories had a monopoly of the home market and thrived accordingly. Then peace let down the bars and overwhelmed the "infant industries" with a flood of cheap British goods. In two years the value of importations rose from \$13,000,000 to \$147,000,000. The cheap foreign goods were acceptable to the masses of the people, but to the manufacturers they spelled ruin. The necessity of protecting the "infant industries" was apparent; and this, as well as the raising of an additional revenue to discharge the war debt of \$80,000,000, was the aim of the tariff law of 1816. The principle of the protective tariff, once embraced by the Federalists and opposed by the Democratic-Republicans, was now adopted by the latter in their new devotion to national supervision of the various interests of the country.

The "infant industries" and the protective tariff.



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

The invention of the cotton gin, or engine, by Eli Whitney in 1793 brought about a sudden increase in the supply of raw material, which greatly facilitated the growth of cotton manufacturing. Whitney, a young graduate of Yale College, went to South Carolina as a school-teacher. Noticing the slaves picking the seed out of the cotton, each one succeeding in cleaning a pound or so a day, he set his Yankee ingenuity to the task of devising a method of performing the work with greater rapidity, and produced a machine

The cotton gin.

by the aid of which a single negro could clean three hundred pounds of cotton in one day. In the year 1784 the country exported but a few thousand pounds of cotton, but ten years after the invention of the gin, the annual exports reached 50,000,000 pounds. The cotton crop of 85,000,000 pounds in 1810 reached 160,000,000 pounds in 1820. Whitney derived little financial return from the gin, yet seldom has a single invention exerted greater influence, both economic and political. The way was open for the cotton growing industry to expand almost indefinitely, while that of cotton manufacturing was sure of an increasing supply of raw material. The cotton planters of the entire South, the cotton manufacturers of England and New England, profited by the invention to the extent of millions of dollars; and with Watts, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright, Whitney was numbered among the benefactors of the race for making possible a cheap fabric for clothing. At the same time, the cotton gin, as we shall see, fastened negro slavery more securely upon the Southern States and encouraged the spread of slavery to newly forming states in the lower Mississippi Valley.

Along with their establishment of a national bank and the encouragement which they gave to manufacturing enterprise by the protective tariff, the Democratic-Republicans after the War of 1812-1815 exhibited their tendencies toward nationalism in the favor with which they looked upon improvement of transportation facilities by the national government. **Internal improvements by the national government.** There had been agitation for undertakings of this sort from the very beginning of the national government in 1789, but while the statesmen of the period were directing their efforts toward organizing the government on a sound basis and defending the neutral rights of the United States on the sea, the movement for national internal improvements gathered strength but slowly. It had been the desire for better transportation facilities between the seaboard and the new western lands of Congress that had led indirectly to the constitutional convention of 1787. After the Constitution went into effect the admission into the Union of new states west of the mountains brought into both houses of Congress vigorous advocates of the construction of roads and canals at the national expense. The very hardships of their journeys over the mountains between Washington and the West impressed on the minds of these legislators the necessities of the situation.

In Jefferson's time pressure was brought to bear upon the President and upon Congress to allow the national construction of roads to the new lands and thus to facilitate travel to the West. Jefferson's

desire was that the states themselves should construct the desired highways for this migration, but the states held back, and before Jefferson left office he gave his official consent to the construction of a single national road, called the Cumberland Road, running from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac,

The Cumberland Road.



THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This great undertaking was completed in 1838 at a total expenditure of slightly over \$4,000,000. So long as the road remained in the hands of the Federal government it was free to all without the payment of tolls; but when the states, through which the road passed, acquired it by gift of the government in the thirties, toll gates were set up along its course.

Enthusiasts, who had faith in the future of their country, called upon Congress, after the war had strengthened the spirit of nationalism, to discard the cautious policy of a single road for a general policy of improvements which would involve the government construction of roads and canals in every part of the country. This sweeping programme was put through Congress in the "Bonus Bill," devoting the million and a half of money to be paid to the government by the Second Bank of the United States for its charter, to carrying out the desired improvements. In passing the measure, the Democratic-Republicans of the Fourteenth Congress, friendly to the national bank and to the fostering of manufactures by a protective tariff, were again in the old position of the Federalists. Calhoun of South Carolina, in warm advocacy of the policy, pointed out how the country had suffered during the late war from lack of proper means of transportation for moving the troops; he maintained not only that commercial prosperity required improved means of transportation, but that the security of the Union of the states depended upon it. Disunion, he protested, would be the greatest of calamities. In reply to those who opposed the measure out of regard for strict construction of the Constitution, he cited the construction of the Cumberland Road as a precedent and the "general

The demand for a more extensive programme of national improvements.

welfare" clause of the Constitution as authority for the work; in conclusion he asked, "If we are restricted in the use of our money to the enumerated powers, on what principle can the purchase of Louisiana be justified?"

12. President Madison vetoed the Bonus Bill, although he had signed the bank and tariff bills. Like Jefferson, he believed that the improvements were desirable, but that Congress could not construct them till a constitutional amendment had been passed definitely giving it this power. The President was upholding the traditional principles of his party, while Congress, discarding consistency, was responding to the demands of the growing nation.

The opposi-
tion of Presi-
dent
Madison.

The invention of the steamboat by Robert Fulton in 1807 greatly increased popular interest in problems of transportation. Like many another genius, Fulton was ridiculed when he sought to give the first public exhibition of his device, but the crowds that gathered at the wharves of New York to jeer at "Fulton's

The steam-
boat.



THE "CLERMONT"

folly" remained to behold his triumph, for "the thing moved." John Fitch of Connecticut had invented a steamboat in the days just after the Revolutionary War, but he failed to make it a commercial success and in despair committed suicide. The magnitude of the achievement of Fitch and Fulton is impressive, when we reflect that George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte used practically the same means of transportation over the surface of the earth as did Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar. For thousands of years wheeled vehicles, rowboats, and sailboats had been in use without any virtual improvement, till Fulton's *Clermont*, propelled by steam, passed up the Hudson

from New York to Albany. The utilization of steam for land transportation followed within twenty years.

THE FRONTIER IN 1815

The changes in the country west of the mountains, since the beginnings of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio a half century earlier, were marked. Sevier, Robertson, and Boone had blazed their way through the forests or followed the paths of the In-

Changes in
the West.



FIRST STEAMBOAT FROM PITTSBURG TO NEW ORLEANS

dians and wild animals. Less than a half century later, Henry Clay, representative of the state of Kentucky passed up the Ohio by steamboat and availed himself of the advantages of the Cumberland Road on his way east to the seat of government. The first steamboat to appear in the West was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1811, and by 1822 one hundred such craft were calling at the port of New Orleans alone and scores at other western river ports.

The cotton gin as well as the steamboat stimulated western settlement. When Whitney invented the gin, cotton was raised mainly in the seaboard states of Georgia and South Carolina, but its culture spread rapidly into North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. The three last-named states, with their immensely rich bottom lands in the valley of the Mississippi, along with the neighboring state of Alabama, were raising one-third of the cotton crop of the country by 1821, and a few years later over two-thirds.

Rapid extension of cotton growing.

From 1810 to 1840 the three states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, which in 1810 contained 116,000 inhabitants, nearly doubled their population every ten years. The five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin increased in population from 50,000 in 1800 to 800,000 in 1820 and



PICKING COTTON, NEAR ATLANTA, GA.

3,000,000 in 1840. In the single decade 1800-1810, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, each multiplied its population by five. The largest towns in the West in 1810, all situated on the rivers, were New Orleans with 24,000 inhabitants, Pittsburg with 6000, Cincinnati with 2500, and St. Louis with 5000. Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, on the lakes farther north, were still small villages. In the five years, 1815-1820, five new states were admitted into the Union from the new regions, Mississippi and Alabama in the Southwest, and Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri in the Northwest. Ohio in the Northwest and Louisiana in the Southwest had been admitted in 1803 and 1812 respectively.

The population of the entire Union numbered 3,900,000 in 1790, 5,000,000 in 1800, 7,000,000 in 1810, and 9,000,000 in 1820. Well might Calhoun exclaim in Congress, "We are great and rapidly, I



CINCINNATI IN 1810

was about to say, fearfully, growing. This is our pride and our danger, our weakness and our strength."

	Made a State	Population							
		1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1910
Vermont	1791	85000	154000	217000	235000	280000	291000	314000	355000
Kentucky	1792	73000	220000	406000	564000	680000	780000	982000	2289000
Tennessee	1796	35000	105000	260000	420000	681000	830000	1000000	2184000
Ohio	1803		45000	230000	580000	937000	1520000	1980000	4767000
Louisiana	1812			76000	153000	215000	352000	517000	1656000
Indiana	1816		5000	28000	147000	343000	685000	988000	2700000
Mississippi	1817		8000	40000	75000	136000	375000	606000	1797000
Illinois	1818			12000	55000	157000	476000	850000	5638000
Alabama	1819				127000	309000	590000	771000	2138000
Missouri	1820			19000	66000	140000	380000	680000	3290000
Maine	1820	96000	150000	228000	298000	400000	500000	580000	740000
Michigan	1836			4000	9000	31000	212000	397000	2810000
Arkansas	1836			1000	14000	30000	97000	209000	1574000
Florida	1845					34000	54000	87000	752000
Iowa	1846						43000	192000	2224000
Wisconsin	1848						30000	305000	2333000

The commercial interaction of the various sections of the country on one another was an important development arising out of the improvement in transportation and the rapid westward drift of population. Immense prosperity came to the South both on the seaboard and in the Mississippi Valley, through the cultivation of cotton, and to the Northwest from a variety of products, chiefly corn, wheat, oats, hogs, sheep, and cattle. Devotion to a single product rendered the South dependent on the states of the Northwest for food products, and this near and easy market down the Mississippi was to the Northwest at this time its chief source of profit. The Northeast rejoiced in the prosperity of both agricultural sections, as growing markets for its manufactured goods, and in turn drew from these raw material and food supplies. The prosperity of the various parts of the country was mutual and interdependent.

The Appalachian barrier on the way to the interior was pierced in several places. The French early traversed the Great Lakes, and crossing at various portages, floated down the streams and rivers. Young George Washington and General Braddock marched overland from the valley of the Potomac to the Valley of the Monongahela, and thence to the Ohio at Pittsburg. Sevier, Robertson, and Boone, and those who followed them to Tennessee and Kentucky, passed down the valleys stretching southwest from Pennsylvania, and over the mountains at Cumberland Gap. George Rogers Clark and his expedition from Virginia took the old route of Washington and Braddock to the Monongahela and Pittsburg, and floated down the Ohio to the Mississippi on rafts. The Marietta settlers from New England made their way over the mountains from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. All these routes were in use after 1800, and all of them, in comparison with those of the present day, were slow, laborious, and dangerous.

The tribulations of frontier travel, which afforded the strongest argument in favor of internal improvements, repeated the vexatious experiences of colonial days. The travelers record the dangers of the bridges and ferries, and the inconveniences of the inns. The following extracts from the diary of a Connecticut girl traveling to Ohio in 1810 portray these conditions. " 'What is everybody's business is nobody's' — for instance it is nobody's business where we are going, yet everybody inquires — every toll gatherer and child that sees us. . . . They come in, in droves young and old — black and white women and children. . . . Just as we set down to tea, in came a dozen or two of women, each with a child in her arms,

and stood around the room. . . . I concluded that they came to see us Yankees, as they would a learned pig. . . . The bridge over it [the Delaware] is elegant, I think — It is covered, & has 16 windows each side. . . . It is amusing to see the variety of paintings on the inn-keeper's signs — I saw one in N. J. with Thos. Jeff'n's head & shoulders and his name above it — today I saw General G. Washington — his name underneath — General Putnam riding down the steps at Horse-



OVERLAND TRAVEL

neck — one sign was merely 3 little kegs hanging down one after the other — They have the sun rising, & at Meridian, here a full moon, a new moon, the moon & 7 stars around her, the Lion and Unicorn 'fighting &c.,' & everything else that a Dutchman had ever seen or heard. . . . We are obliged to sleep every & any way at most of the inns now. . . . My companions were disturbed by the wagoners who put up here & were all night in the room below us, eating, drinking, talking & swearing. . . . I have learned to eat raw pork & drink whiskey. . . . Don't you think I shall do for a new country? . . . We saw some men today mending the roads. . . . I did not think a Pennsylvanian ever touched a road or made a bridge for we are obliged to ride through every stream we come to. . . . We have been nearly twenty miles today & I have been obliged to walk up hill, till we are all very tired. . . . From what I have seen and heard, I think the State of Ohio will be well filled up before winter. . . . Wagons without number every day go on. One went on containing *forty* people. —

We almost every day see them with 18 or 20 — one stopped here to-night with 27. . . . We are over the 6th mountain & at an inn at the foot of it. . . . This mountain is called worse than any of them — it is only 6 miles over. We have only come 8 today & I have not been in the wagon. The horses once or twice got set & cast &c. — we have a deal of bad luck. . . . We saw a very large rock containing a great many names — we added ours to the number."



TYPICAL LOG CABIN

In the primeval forest, which stretched for several hundred miles west of the Alleghanies, the experiences of the frontiersman were essentially the same as those of the early settlers in the forests nearer the Atlantic. When these wooded lands of Ohio and Indiana were passed and in Illinois the eastern limits of the broad interior prairies were reached, new experiences were in store for settlers. The country in this latter section was flat and in large measure treeless, and newcomers could enter at once on fine lands prepared for them by nature, without first undergoing the arduous labor of *clearing*, which had been bestowed on almost every acre between Illinois and the Atlantic. Farming and grazing could begin at once; great spreading fields of grass, untouched by the hands of civilized man, stood ready, inviting flocks and herds to come and partake of their bounty.

The typical cabin of the frontiersman was built of logs. There

were hundreds of cabins without a nail or a particle of iron about them, with the cracks between the rough logs “chinked and daubed” with mud. A few pounds of nails, a dozen panes of glass, were among the comforts of life. If a saw-mill was near at hand, to save the labor of splitting slabs for doors and floors, the settler was lucky. In addition to the cabin there was needed a meat house, a corn crib, and stables, all built of rough logs. If no good spring of water was at hand, a well had to be dug, the labor usually of four or five days.

The log cabin.



MAIL CARRIER ABOUT 1800

Except in the timbered tracts, where in the prairie it was wretched policy to settle, the comparatively easy process of *grubbing* superseded *clearing* and *girdling*. In preparation for plowing, the farmer, with a mattock, had to *grub* out the sprouts, roots, and stumps of all small growth. An acre could be *grubbed* in from three to six days. To turn over the prairie sward required a strong team and a large sharp plow. To split the rails necessary for fencing was an enormous task. J. M. Peck, in “A Guide to Immigrants,” published in 1831, estimated the expenses of a farm of 160 acres, divided into four fields surrounded by a high fence eight rails high and staked, allowing two stakes to each panel of fence and two division fences crossing each other at right angles, as follows: to inclose and divide the farm into four fields would require 15,360 rails and 3840 stakes, the rails ten, and the stakes eight feet in length. The cost of rails was 50 cents per hundred, of stakes 37½ cents per hundred, which, with the cost of hauling and laying, together with a few extras, brought the expense of fencing up to \$160. Adding the cost of breaking up 160 acres of prairie at \$2 per acre, the cost of

Grubbing,
plowing, and
fencing.

all buildings, and the cost of land at \$2 per acre before 1820 and \$1.25 per acre after that date, the total expense of the prairie farm of one hundred and sixty acres approximated one thousand dollars.

Actual expenditures on the prairie were generally far less. The energetic brought their own horses, wagons, and plows, broke up their land themselves, and by their own efforts built their cabins, split their rails, fenced their fields, and cultivated their crops. Peck cites the record of two typical settlers. "J. S.," from near Zanesville, Ohio, was of the energetic class, and in the first year raised in Illinois a crop of corn, forty bushels to the acre. "P. Q." from Tennessee arrived at about the same time, but instead of giving himself to hard work, spent his time in hunting, lounging at the grocery store, and getting in but a small quantity of wood and meal. He took an old cabin that was open and exposed to the weather, and would not "chink and daub" it, as he intended to "move on." His large family fell sick through exposure, and the children were not sent to school. In the spring "P. Q." rented land and raised a sorry crop, which he sold in the field, and then "moved on," to pursue the same course over again in the next county. Added Peck, "Where one man breaks up and fences one hundred acres in a season, about fifty take the track of 'P. Q.'"

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Was Jefferson right in refusing to go to war to vindicate the rights of neutrals on the sea? In what respects were the principles of Jeffersonian democracy injurious to the United States? What were the decisive military campaigns in the war, 1812-1815, and why? Was the capture of Washington by the British an important event in the conduct of the war? How do you explain the failure of the attempts of the United States to invade Canada? Explain the sectionalism of the war, 1812-1815. Why did the war ultimately increase the feeling of nationalism? In what ways did the industrial revolution in the United States derive advantage from conditions in Great Britain? Which section of the United States gained most from the results of the war? What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaign of 1812?

Outline Princ. of
James Madison

CHAPTER XVIII

REACTION AGAINST NATIONALISM

AN ERA OF GOOD FEELING, 1817-1821

THERE was hardly a contest worthy of the name over the presidency of 1816. The Democratic-Republicans, now sometimes referred to as National Republicans from their championship of broad national measures, nominated as their candidate the Secretary of State, James Monroe. The vanishing Federalists made no formal nomination, but they carried three states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware, and cast their vote for Rufus King of New York, who had twice been their candidate for Vice President. Monroe carried all the other states and received 183 votes in the electoral colleges to 34 for King.

James Monroe was the fourth in the distinguished Virginia line of presidents, and his election fairly entitled that state to her reputation as "The Mother of Presidents." He had served as minister to France under Washington, minister to Great Britain under Jefferson, and Secretary of State under Madison.

Associated with Monroe in his cabinet were three especially strong men, John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury. Adams, the son of ex-President John Adams, had been trained for public life from his youth.

As a boy he accompanied his father, who was sent to Paris on a diplomatic mission, and later he himself represented his country at several different European courts, crowning his diplomatic career by serving as one of the commissioners, along with Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin and two others, in the negotiation of the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1814. Calhoun owed his position to his record in the House of Representatives, where he attracted attention by his display of vigorous intellectual powers and his enthusiastic support of broad national measures. Crawford's services in national politics had been rendered as Senator from Georgia and as minister to France. In the Department of the Treasury he won the praise of no less an authority than Albert Gallatin.

Three new members of Congress, who were destined to future greatness, were Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, as intellectual as Calhoun and as eloquent as Clay; Rufus King, an old Federalist leader, famous for his anti-slavery sentiments; and Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, ardent in his devotion to western interests. Ex-Secretary Albert Gallatin, and ex-Presidents Adams, Jefferson, and Madison maintained their interest in public affairs and were valued counselors.

Other
leaders.

With the Federalist party virtually out of existence, so that partisan strife on national questions was quiescent, President Monroe happily declared to the people that they were living in an "era of good feeling." Following the example of Washington, who had aroused public enthusiasm by long trips through the different sections of the country, Monroe traveled thousands of miles in New England, the West, and the South, and mingled with all classes of the people. Unlike Washington, who courteously accepted the love and devotion of the people but made no speeches, Monroe invariably addressed the crowds which assembled to greet him.

The "era of
good
feeling."

Foreign affairs of importance engaged the nation's attention and evoked a unanimity of sentiment that added to the internal harmony. Florida, which was still in the possession of Spain, was the home of wandering tribes of Seminole Indians. During the second war with Great Britain they caused trouble for the United States by crossing the border and harassing the settlers of the United States. They continued their depredations after the close of the war and did not cease until Andrew Jackson was sent against them in 1818. He pursued them into their own swamps and in three months had them completely routed. Such hostile operations on the soil of a foreign state were justified on the accepted principle of international law that one nation may invade the territory of another for the purpose of abating a nuisance. When Spain, highly incensed, demanded redress for Jackson's acts, Monroe boldly assumed responsibility for them and made the counter-demand on Spain that she either keep order in Florida or sell the peninsula to the United States.

Trouble
with Spanish
Florida.

Spain became convinced that she had better dispose of her colony on such terms as she could secure, rather than run the risk of losing it and receiving nothing in return. Accordingly, in 1819, she ceded Florida to the United States. The two nations reciprocally renounced all claims for damages or injuries which they had suffered at the hands of one another, and in addition the United States agreed to pay the claims of their citizens against Spain to an amount not exceeding \$5,000,000. The United States gave up her

The purchase
of Florida.

claims to the Spanish colony of Texas, which seemed doubtful at the time but have recently been discovered to have been well grounded by the terms of the purchase of Louisiana, in which territory Texas should rightfully have been included, according to old French documents. Spain at the same time made the concession of giving up to the United States all claims to East and West Florida, east of the Mississippi, and west of the Mississippi all rights to territory north and east of a line running in general northwest through the courses of the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas Rivers, and thence west on the forty-second parallel to the Pacific. This strengthened the hold of the United States on the Oregon country in the Northwest, where Spain had a shadowy claim. The nation generally acquiesced in this third territorial acquisition, as she did in the first in 1783, whereas all the other territorial acquisitions in her history have encountered opposition. Although Florida, with an area of only 65,000 square miles, was not as large or as rich as the Louisiana Purchase or as the country west of the Alleghanies ceded by Great Britain in 1783, it was of great strategical importance. With Florida in her possession the United States could more easily guard the Gulf of Mexico, the key to the Mississippi River and the interior of the continent, from possible foreign invasion, and more easily avert attack through Florida herself.

The constitutionality of annexing foreign territory, which had been left an unsettled question after the acquisition of Louisiana, was authoritatively affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1828. Said the Court: "The Constitution confers absolutely on the government of the Union the powers of making war and of making treaties; consequently, that government possesses the power of acquiring territory, either by conquest or by treaty."

While the Florida question was still pending and even earlier, the problem of recognizing the independence of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America had come up. When Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, invaded the Kingdom of Spain in 1808, deposed the Spanish sovereigns, and placed his own brother, Joseph, on the throne, the Spanish American colonies rejected the yoke of the new monarch and rose in rebellion under the leadership of Simon Bolivar in Colombia, San Martin in Argentine and Chile, and other patriots. The interest of the people of the United States in the struggle was both commercial and sentimental. The independence of the Spanish colonies would almost certainly mean a chance for outsiders to trade in the South American and Central American markets, from

The constitutionality of annexing foreign territory.

Recognition of the independence of the South American Republics.

which they had been excluded for centuries by the narrow Spanish colonial system. Before such magnificent opportunities, which were almost unlimited in their possibilities, the trade of the British West Indies, once eagerly sought by the merchants of the United States, faded into insignificance. Moreover, the liberty-loving citizens of the United States, the first American republic to free itself from European control, felt a peculiar sympathy for the Spanish-American patriots fighting to make good their own independence. The people of the United States were almost a unit in favor of recognizing the independence of the revolting colonies and tendering them their moral support. Although the treaty with Spain for the cession of Florida was concluded February 22, 1819, the shrewd Spanish monarch delayed the exchange of ratifications till February 22, 1821, and in this interval of two years President Monroe refused the helping hand to the rebels in arms against Spain, lest such a step antagonize Spain and block negotiations for the annexation of Florida. The conclusion of the Florida treaty left the United States free to act, and she recognized the independence of all Spain's American colonies excepting Cuba and Porto Rico, and that of Portuguese Brazil, in 1822.

The interests of Great Britain coincided with those of the United States. Outside of Great Britain, however, forces were at work in Europe which threatened to restore Spain's tottering American empire. When, in 1820, Spain was preparing an expedition to save her colonies, back of her stood Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the Holy Alliance, formed in 1815, to forward the government of this world by "the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace." The pious profession was a cloak for the furtherance of the interests of absolute monarchy against "the curse of revolution." A democratic uprising in Spain herself was put down with the support of the Alliance, and under the leadership of the same Alliance the powers of Europe assembled in congress at Verona in 1822, to discuss their common interests and those of Spain in particular. Russia, Austria, Prussia, France and Spain favored a combined armed expedition against the South American insurgents. Great Britain alone of the European nations held out against the step.

Through her foreign secretary the latter power proposed to President Monroe that Britain and the United States act together to protect South America; but Monroe preferred to meet the situation alone, and in his annual message of 1823 announced to the world the position of the United States in regard to South America. "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United

The genesis
of the Mon-
roe Doctrine.

Its provi-
sions. No
foreign in-
terference in
the politics
of America.

States and those powers to declare," he said, "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of the hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." With this independent stand the British found themselves quite out of sympathy.

There was also in President Monroe's message a warning to Russia, which by a decree of 1821 was attempting to extend its power on the

No territorial acquisition in America by foreign powers.

Pacific coast south from Alaska as far as the fifty-first parallel, over a part of the Oregon territory already claimed by both Great Britain and the United States. The

President judged the occasion "proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

This so-called Monroe Doctrine, which, it must be remembered, was an utterance of the President and not a law of Congress, contained, there-

Immediate results of the Monroe Doctrine.

fore, three principles. First, the United States would not interfere in European affairs; second, European nations must not interfere with the existing governments in America; and third, European nations must set up no

more new colonies in America. One immediate result of the firm stand of the United States was that Spain did not recover her revolted colonies; and another was a treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded in 1824, by which the southern boundary of Alaska was placed at 54° 40' north latitude.

THE END OF THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

Increasing sectionalism and increasing personal and party strife, as year by year the nationalizing influences of the War of 1812 receded

Increasing sectionalism.

into the past, furnish the key to the history of the country during the second administration of President Monroe and that of President John Quincy Adams which followed. The happy "era of good feeling" of Monroe's first term was but temporary.

The presidential contests of 1820 and 1824 afford a striking indication of the changing spirit of the times. Apparently all was harmony when Monroe was reelected in 1820. There was but one party and one candidate. President Monroe missed a unanimous election in the electoral colleges by a single

The presidential contest of 1820.

vote, which was cast for John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State,

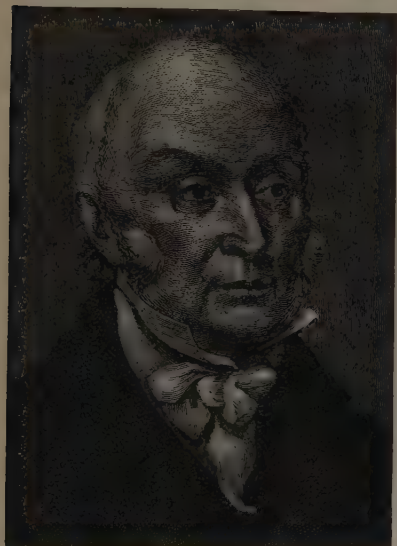
because one elector felt that the honor of a unanimous election to the first office in the land should belong to none but George Washington.

To this spiritless election the bitter struggle over the presidency

in 1824, with five candidates of the Democratic-Republican or

The presidential contest of 1824.

National-Republican party vying with one another for the office, furnishes an instructive contrast. Storms had been brewing during the apparent calm. The contestants in the five-cornered race were Adams, Calhoun, and Crawford from the cabinet of the retiring President, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Andrew Jackson, the country's



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

greatest military leader. Crawford was the nominee of the congressional caucus of the party, while the others were nominated by state legislatures and local state conventions. Jackson was the choice of the largest number of voters on election day, but neither he nor any of his rivals received the requisite majority of votes in the electoral colleges, and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution the ultimate choice fell to the House of Representatives, which awarded the office to Adams. Clay, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, wielded a strong influence over his fellow-members, and when the new President made him Secretary of State, Jackson and his followers, with the cry of "bargain and corruption," charged that Adams had promised the secretaryship to Clay to secure the latter's support in the contest in the House of Representatives. The charges have since been effectually disproved, but at that day they were believed by thousands and exercised an influence that seriously injured the political fortunes of

both Adams and Clay to the end of their careers. Calhoun, who had fallen out of the presidential race before election day, was elected Vice President without a contest.

B The subjects provoking political strife in the troubled period that followed the era of good feeling were many in number, the most fruitful being that of slavery, which roused a tremendous clash of factions near the close of Monroe's first administration. The North in general was for freedom, the South in general for slavery because of the growing profits of slave labor in the cotton fields; but this divergence of interests did not produce a cleavage in politics till the two sections came into collision over the admission of the territory of Missouri into the Union as a state.

The sectional question of slavery.

As we have already seen, slavery had existed in America from the days of Columbus, first the slavery of the native Indians, and then that of the blacks of Africa, introduced in 1502. As early as 1526 black slaves toiled with d'Ayllon in his fruitless attempt to found a settlement in Virginia. After the English set up a permanent colony on this same coast almost a century later, a Dutch trading ship brought the first negro slaves to the settlement at Jamestown in 1619.

The beginning of slavery in America.

Negro slavery exercised a strong sway over the British colonies. In the rice swamps of the Carolinas, and in the sugar and tobacco plantations both of the mainland and of the West Indies, the slaves performed services of immense economic value; in the North, where the unyielding soil required more careful and intelligent cultivation, they were less useful. Under the charter of the British King the Royal African Company, many of the members of which were prominent in the social and political life of Great Britain, carried on a hugely profitable trade transporting the African blacks to America. It has been estimated that at the beginning of the eighteenth century British vessels brought 25,000 slaves annually to the British colonies in America, and that the number imported in the single year 1771 reached 47,000.

Slavery in colonial times.

When the colonies endeavored to put a stop to this traffic, their laws taxing the trade and even in some cases actually prohibiting it, encountered the royal veto. The First Continental Congress in 1774 resolved: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade." The Second Continental Congress two years later voted that no slave "be imported into any of the thirteen colonies." This was the high-water mark of colonial anti-slavery.

Efforts to abolish slavery.

The Declaration of Independence adopted three months later ignored the subject. In his collected writings Thomas Jefferson tells how in the original draft of the Declaration he had inserted a clause condemning the King for waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. . . . Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce." This clause was struck out "in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren, also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

Slavery and the Declaration of Independence.

In the enthusiasm for human rights and liberty which attended and followed the Revolution, the Northern States stopped the importation of slaves and gradually went to the length of freeing the slaves within their borders. Many Southerners would have adopted the same policy in their states, could they have carried the majority with them. Jefferson labored to induce his native state to purchase all the slaves in Virginia and to colonize and educate them outside the nation at the state's expense. He failed in this effort, but, nothing daunted, proposed a plan to the Congress of the Confederation in 1784 to exclude slavery from all the public lands west of the Appalachians. This was defeated by a narrow margin, but in 1787 the plan was applied by the same Congress, in the celebrated Ordinance of that year, to that part of the western domain lying northwest of the Ohio River.

The emancipation movement following the Revolution.

The constitutional convention, which was in session in Philadelphia when the Congress of the Confederation passed the vote against slavery in the Northwest Territory, discussed the subject of slavery, but did not see fit to recognize the system directly. In fact, the words *slave* and *slavery* do not appear in the Constitution. Indirectly, however, the document recognized slavery in several ways. The merely negative act of separating the jurisdiction of the states and the nation led to important results in this connection. On the ground that powers not delegated to the national government by the Constitution nor for-

Slavery in the constitutional convention of 1787.

bidden by it to the states, were reserved to the states, it was a well-respected principle of politics down to 1862 that the government of the United States could not touch slavery in the states. In further recognition of the institution, the constitutional convention made the decision that three-fifths of all slaves should be counted as population in determining the size of a state's representation in the House of Representatives and its share in direct taxes imposed by the general government; and it put off till 1808 the date when Congress might prohibit the foreign slave trade; but in each case a circumlocution was resorted to in order to avoid the actual use of the term *slave*. A national law prohibiting the importation of slaves went into effect at the earliest possible date, January 1, 1808, the same day that Great Britain's ban on the trade went into effect.

The American Colonization Society was formed in 1816 to take freed slaves out of the country to a colony prepared for them in Africa, later recognized as the independent republic of Liberia. Henry Clay was at one time president of this society, and many eminent men were included in the list of its members, but the scheme of colonization of the blacks never proved a success. There were emancipation societies, too, in these early days of the nineteenth century both in the Southern States and in the states of the North.

By the time Missouri was applying for admission to the Union as a slave state, slavery, largely through the influence of the cotton gin, had become so important commercially that it was beginning to effect a change of sentiment in the South. Philosophical and moral arguments for emancipation were giving way before the demonstrated profitableness of slavery. The Southern States were falling to the defense of the system as a necessary evil and even as a positive good.

The debate over the admission of Missouri waxed hot between the sections. Up to this time nine states had been admitted into the Union with little or no debate on the subject of slavery, some free and some slave, as the case might be, till there was an even balance between the free and the slave states, eleven on each side. A single new state would disturb the balance one way or the other. The pro-slavery element rested their argument in favor of making a slave state out of Missouri, on the treaty with France by which the Louisiana territory was annexed. This guaranteed to the people of the whole Louisiana country the "free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." Slaves, in their view, came under the head of

property, and consequently the people of the territory of Missouri, carved out of Louisiana, must by the terms of the treaty be allowed to retain their slaves, and bring them with them when they were admitted into the Union. The opponents of slavery, on the other hand, took the position that slaves were not property but human beings, ownership in whom no treaty could guarantee. They foresaw that to allow Missouri to come into the Union as a slave state would set a precedent that might fasten slavery on any state later carved out of the Louisiana territory. The Northerners affirmed that Congress had the power to lay down conditions, for example the giving of freedom to blacks, which territories seeking statehood must meet before entering the Union. This power of Congress the Southerners stoutly denied.

To win an immediate victory the South consented to the famous Missouri Compromise, which they later regretted. Maine, still a part of Massachusetts, had received the consent of her mother state to separation, and her application for statehood was now before Congress. It was decided to admit Maine as a free state to balance Missouri, which was allowed to come in as a slave state; but it was stipulated that in the remainder of the Louisiana territory, north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, the southern boundary of Missouri, slavery should be ~~forever~~ prohibited. Henry Clay was instrumental in pushing this compromise through Congress, although he was not its author.

The Missouri Compromise. 1820

Weighty consequences followed the compromise and the discussion which it evoked. First, in prohibiting slavery in the territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, another precedent was set along the line of the dealings of Congress with slavery in the Northwest Territory, in favor of the proposition that Congress could control the matter of slavery in the territories. This was based upon the clause of the Constitution which says that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Second, the power of Congress to lay down conditions which territories seeking statehood must meet, was emphasized. Third, the concession of the Southerners concerning slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ gradually led them to the realization that they had yielded too much to the free states for their own interests and they became more insistent upon their rights. Fourth, the moral aspects of slavery were discussed as never before, inasmuch as the very necessities of carrying on the debate, after it was once joined, led anti-slavery advocates to resort to every kind of attack on the hated social system, and the Southerners

Results of the Compromise.

to defend their institution with renewed ardor. Northerners advanced from the mild arguments of the more cautious days, and by denouncing slavery as a moral wrong, started a controversy that was not to die till slavery itself should die. Fifth, the wisdom of Washington's farewell words in regard to sectional political parties and their danger to the Union was emphasized. The aged Jefferson wrote: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened me and filled me with horror. I considered it at once as the death knell of the Union."

RAPID GROWTH OF SECTIONALISM

Under President Adams the sectional spirit grew with startling rapidity. Relations with the states of Central and South America, under the Monroe Doctrine, caused serious dispute and even led to sectional differences. From the vagueness of this doctrine it was difficult to determine how far the United States was bound to coöperate with the southern republics. When the new and inexperienced states of Mexico, Central America, Colombia, and Peru, unable to decide what measures to take for the protection of their lately won freedom, invited the United States in 1826 to meet with them in a congress at Panama, President Adams was anxious to accept the invitation promptly. The southern Senators and Representatives in Washington, however, held back, fearing that Cuba and Porto Rico might be received into the congress, and that agitation for the emancipation of slaves, which had assumed large proportions in South America, might be communicated to these neighboring islands and through them to the United States. Nor could the slaveholders of the United States brook the idea of being obliged to see their commissioners mingle on the floor of the Panama congress with the black representatives from the free negro republic of Haiti, and as a possible consequence later to receive in Washington black ministers from this state. The government was so long in making up its mind to send delegates that when its commissioners arrived in Central America, the congress had adjourned. The weak federation of republics attempted by the conference was a failure, and the treaties which it projected were never signed; yet in this first Pan-American Congress, through the statesmanship of Bolivar, a high standard of union and arbitration was set as the ideal to which American republics should aspire in their mutual relations.

The narrow spirit of a single section was also arrayed against the Federal government when President Adams sought to protect the Creek and Cherokee Indians in the state of Georgia from what he deemed unfair treatment. With the aid and

Disputes
over the
Panama
Congress.

Georgia and
the Indians.

encouragement of the national government the Indians were being removed at this time from various parts of the seaboard to reservations made for them in the public lands of the West. As early as 1802 the national government had promised to acquire the Indian title to lands within the state of Georgia, but when Adams took office in 1825 they were still undisturbed in some of the best lands of the state. Action was slow under a new treaty of 1825, by which the Creeks ceded their lands to the United States, and the impatient state proceeded to survey the lands in question. When the President warned him to desist, the governor bluntly threatened civil war. Within two years the Creeks finally consented in a new treaty to give up their lands, and the issue between the state and the Federal government was avoided. Georgia was plainly taking the extreme attitude of states' rights. "Georgia is sovereign on her own soil," declared the state's executive.

In the meantime the Cherokees were still holding lands in Georgia, which they had not ceded to the United States. They even made a constitution and set up a government of their own, creating practically a "state within a state," prohibited by the Constitution of the United States. Georgia replied by the assertion of her own jurisdiction over the Cherokee lands and their incorporation in five counties of the state. The President did all he could to defend the Indians until they could be legally removed, but the Senate refused to support him, and the humiliating spectacle was presented of the President of the United States left powerless before the defiance of a single state.

President
Adams
thwarted.

Even the national bank, which had found favor in Congress during Madison's administrations, now encountered the active opposition of various sections. The supporters of the rival state banks were jealous of the superiority of the notes of the national bank. They feared, too, the power of the national institution to crush a state bank at any moment by collecting the notes of that bank and suddenly presenting them for payment.

Reaction
against the
national
bank.

Laws harassing the national bank were passed in various state legislatures. Maryland laid a heavy tax on the business of the bank, till the Supreme Court decided that it must desist. The power to tax, said Chief Justice Marshall, in reading the decision of the court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* in 1819, is the equivalent of the power to destroy, and no state ought to have the power to destroy an institution which was set up by a constitutional law of Congress. The constitutionality of the bank of the United

The Supreme
Court and
the bank.

States rested on the "necessary and proper clause" of the Constitution. In lucid language the decision explained and defended the doctrine of implied powers. "Among the enumerated powers, we do not find that of establishing a bank or creating a corporation. But there is no phrase in the instrument which, like the Articles of Confederation, excludes incidental or implied powers; and which requires that everything granted shall be expressly and minutely described. . . . A constitution to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of the prolixity of a legal code, and could scarcely be embraced by the human mind. It would probably never be understood by the public. . . . But we think that the sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the national legislature that discretion, with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it, in the manner most beneficial to the people."

After this decision the bank was safe so long as its charter continued, though whether or not the charter, which would expire in 1836, would be renewed by Congress, was an open question. This depended upon the will of the people. Following after the decision in *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803, the decision in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* was the court's next important judgment bearing on the fundamental organization of the national government.

Several years later the Supreme Court rendered a decision more to the liking of the friends of the state banks, when it ruled that the right of these institutions to issue their notes to circulate as money was within the Constitution, if the state granting their charters itself held a portion of their stock.

The court and the paper money of the state banks. The Supreme Court at about the same time rendered several other important decisions bearing upon the rights and powers of the states under the Constitution. In the *Dartmouth College* case, 1819, it was held that a charter granted by a state was a contract, which that state could not change or break, because it was forbidden by the Constitution to pass laws "impairing the obligations of contracts."

Nationalizing decisions of the court. The *Dartmouth College* case. The decision in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 1824, has been recognized as the basis of all subsequent construction of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. In this it was held that the power of Congress to "regulate commerce, . . . among the several states" embraced the right to prescribe rules by which the navigation

Gibbons v. Ogden.

of the great rivers was to be governed, and that therefore the states could not control these waters.

3 In *Fletcher v. Peck*, 1810, the court definitely exercised its power to set aside a state law, which was a step in advance of the decision in *Marbury v. Madison*, in which, it will be remembered, the supreme tribunal had applied the doctrine of judicial nullification of laws only to a law of Congress. In *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*, 1816, the judgment of a state court was reversed. "A motive of another kind," it said, "perfectly compatible with the most sincere respect for state tribunals, might induce the grant of appellate power over their decisions. That motive is the importance and even necessity of uniformity of decisions throughout the whole United States, upon all subjects within the purview of the Constitution. Judges of equal learning and integrity, in different states, might differently interpret a statute, or a treaty of the United States, or even the Constitution itself. If there were no revising authority to control these jarring and discordant judgments, and harmonize them into uniformity, the laws, the treaties, and the Constitution of the United States would be different in different states, and might, perhaps, never have precisely the same construction, obligation, or efficacy in any two states. The public mischiefs that would attend such a state of things would be truly deplorable."

*Martin v.
Hunter's
Lessee.*

The Supreme Court was proving a tower of strength for nationalism, against which the adherents of states' rights could do nothing but object, for they had no means at all comparable to the power of the court, of controlling the form of the national government and the extent of its legitimate activities.

The judiciary a stronghold of nationalism.

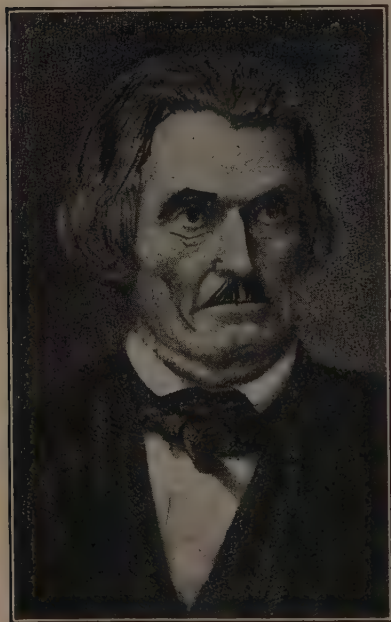
The protective tariff, though widely approved under Monroe, did not under Adams continue to enjoy the favor of all sections. A new law extending the system and raising the rates was passed in 1818 and another in 1824; another, known as "The Tariff of Abominations," in which the high-water mark of protective tariff legislation down to the Civil War was reached, was passed in 1828, but this met with bitter opposition.

Reaction against the tariff.

South Carolina led the opposition. To express her remonstrance against "The Tariff of Abominations," the state legislature passed the celebrated "Exposition and Protest," prepared for it by Vice President Calhoun. Formerly an ardent nationalist, champion of loose construction of the Constitution, and upholder of the Union of the states, at the close of the War of 1812, Calhoun now came forward as the champion of states'

The "Exposition and Protest" of South Carolina.

rights, strict construction, nullification of the laws of Congress by the states, and possible secession. He was not an orator, but with resistless logic he forged arguments for his new position which had a powerful influence throughout the South in his own day and down to the Civil War.



JOHN C. CALHOUN

After him, advocates of his principles had little to do in the way of argument beyond quoting his words. "The good people of the commonwealth," ran the "Exposition and Protest," "believe that the powers of Congress were delegated to it, in trust, for the accomplishment of certain specified objects, which limit and control them; and that every exercise of them, for any other purposes is a violation of the Constitution, as unwarrantable as the undisguised assumption of substantive independent powers, not granted or expressly withheld." The document maintained that to lay a tax for the benefit of manufacturers was not a power delegated to Congress, and that such a protective tariff was therefore unconstitutional. Calhoun urged furthermore that his native state should hold a state convention to decide how the tariff law "ought to be declared null and void within the limits of the state."

Circumstances had altered South Carolina's attitude toward a protective tariff, and Calhoun had changed with his section. In 1816

**Explanation
of South
Carolina's
attitude.**

South Carolina favored the tariff because she hoped to build up manufacturing industries within her borders, particularly cotton manufacturing; but the ignorant black slaves proved unfit for the factory, and profitable manufacturing with such labor was found to be an impossibility. The state saw with dismay the progress of manufacturing in New England under the stimulus of the tariff, and the belief grew upon her that the Federal Union was working to the injury of the South, that the benefits of the Union were accruing to the North and its burdens to the

South. The Southerners felt that, while in the colonial days their colonies had been the seat of power and riches beyond anything in the North, they were now being outstripped by the commercial Northeast. In the year 1760 the foreign imports of Virginia and South Carolina exceeded those of New York and New England together. In 1821 those of South Carolina were practically the same as in 1760, while New York's in the same interval had increased over one hundred fold, to \$23,000,000; in 1832 New York's imports stood at \$57,000,000, those of Virginia at \$500,000, and those of South Carolina at \$1,250,000. This disproportionate growth of the sections led to the view that there was an "incompatibility of interest" between the North and the South, and that Southerners were justified in opposing what they considered oppressive Federal laws, passed through northern influence. Another aspect of the situation added to the irritation. The cotton-growing interests of South Carolina were feeling the competition of the agricultural sections of the Southwest. The manufacturing Northeast and the agricultural Northwest supplemented one another, but the Southeast and the Southwest, both agricultural, instead of supplementing one another, were in actual rivalry. The strain of hard times thus produced, increased the bitterness of South Carolina against the tariff.

Finally, the spirit of sectionalism in Congress prevented the adoption by the national government of the general policy of internal improvements, already rejected by three administrations, but now favored by the President. Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had opposed the construction of internal improvements at the expense of the nation, as not authorized by the strict letter of the Constitution. John Quincy Adams was a President of broad national views, willing and eager to commit the nation to such a policy, but the country was reacting from its burst of nationalism and Congress in its turn held back. Speaking of the Cumberland Road in his first annual message, Adams exclaimed, "To how many thousand of our countrymen has it proved a benefit! To what single individual has it ever proved an injury?" He would have Congress spend millions in building government roads, canals, and other improvements. If President Adams had had his way, the United States would probably own to-day the railroads and canals and many of the wagon roads of the country; but Congress would take no action.

Reaction
against
national
internal im-
provements.

In addition to the constitutional arguments against expenditure of national funds for internal improvements, the conditions of the times were bringing forward new objections. The South in general

stood opposed to the policy, for as an agricultural section she had no such interest in the development of a rival agricultural section in the West and in the development of transportation facilities thither, as had the North, which was finding a market for manufactured goods in the

Opposition to President Adams's policy. newly settled regions. Another reason for opposition to President Adams's schemes was the willingness of the rival commercial cities and states of the seaboard, in pursuance of their own advantage, to undertake internal improvements themselves. Already they were engaged in the task. Each was struggling to improve its own transportation facilities with the West, in order to secure that great and growing market for itself. Thus an improved transportation system was springing into existence, and the increased interaction of the East and the West was assured.

The merchants of the City of New York perceived that it would be a source of profit to them if they could bring it about, that the grain and other food products of the West should come to their city for distribution, that the West should buy its necessary supplies in New York, and that immigrants bound for the West should traverse their state. They induced the state to build a canal four feet deep, forty feet wide, and three hundred and sixty miles long, from Albany on the Hudson to Buffalo on Lake Erie, in order to afford continuous water communication by river and canal from New York City to the Great Lakes. Construction was begun July 4, 1817, and amid great enthusiasm the work was declared completed in 1825, when Governor De Witt Clinton of New York poured a keg of water from Lake Erie into the waters of the Atlantic at New York. The undertaking cost originally \$7,000,000 and has been improved from time to time. Within late years \$101,000,000 has been voted by the state for further improvement of its great canal system.

The Erie Canal of New York. The building of the Erie Canal was one of the shrewdest things the merchants of New York ever did to advance their interests. Anyone might navigate a boat on the new thoroughfare by the payment of a small fee, and so large was the volume of traffic that in a short time, in spite of the low rates of toll, the proceeds paid for the entire cost of construction and furnished a surplus for improvements. A ton of flour which formerly required several weeks for conveyance from Albany to Buffalo at a cost of \$100 or more, now went through in as many days for \$10. The population of New York City in ten years increased from 124,000 to 203,000, while along the route of the canal Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and other centers also experienced sudden prosperity. Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and

The benefits of the canal. The building of the Erie Canal was one of the shrewdest things the merchants of New York ever did to advance their interests. Anyone might navigate a boat on the new thoroughfare by the payment of a small fee, and so large was the volume of traffic that in a short time, in spite of the low rates of toll, the proceeds paid for the entire cost of construction and furnished a surplus for improvements. A ton of flour which formerly required several weeks for conveyance from Albany to Buffalo at a cost of \$100 or more, now went through in as many days for \$10. The population of New York City in ten years increased from 124,000 to 203,000, while along the route of the canal Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and other centers also experienced sudden prosperity. Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and

Chicago on the Great Lakes entered upon a rapid growth, and for the first time began to rival the river cities of Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. St. Louis and New Orleans suffered, for the western farmers, who had formerly sought their market down the Mississippi to New



CANAL BOAT IN 1825

Orleans, preferred the New York market and gradually diverted thither a large part of their shipments. Another important result of the canal was the jealous imitation aroused in the other cities on the coast.

Philadelphia could not sit still while the new western trade was slipping away to her rival on the Hudson. July 4, 1826, a few months after the completion of New York's canal, the Quaker City had occasion to rejoice when the state of Pennsylvania began the construction of a canal in her interests, which was finished in nine years, stretching across the state from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. For a part of the way the boats of the canal were carried over the mountains by a specially constructed inclined railway. A rise in the ground of two thousand feet over a distance of three hundred and twenty miles had to be conquered, which made the work more difficult of construction than that in New York, where the rise in the ground over a distance of three hundred and sixty miles was only five hundred feet.

Not to be outdone, Baltimore, farther south, on July 4, 1828, began the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to the Ohio Valley.

Canals for Baltimore and Boston. Boston, too, unwilling to be left out of the race, planned to tunnel through the mountains of western Massachusetts, to secure canal connections with the West for her interests; and the Hoosac Tunnel was accordingly constructed, but when completed in 1874 was utilized by a railroad and not by a canal.

The new canals were hardly in working order when a rival appeared which was destined to supplant them almost entirely. The initial contest between canal and railroad was begun at Baltimore, where on July 4, 1828, the very day when work on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was started, a rival company began to lay down on the ground two continuous smooth rails, over which an engine and cars were to run by steam.

The early railroads. George Stephenson, a British engineer, invented the first steam locomotive in 1814, and in 1825 succeeded in putting into operation in Great Britain the first steam railway for the transportation of both freight and passengers. The first engine to run successfully in the United States was built in 1830 by an American, Peter Cooper, for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The new railroad was slow in construction and did not reach the Ohio River until 1853; but the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal never got beyond Cumberland, Maryland, and although still in operation it has never been a decided success. As a rival of the canal system of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Railroad was begun in 1845, and in nine years succeeded in establishing connections from Philadelphia as far west as Pittsburg. So successful was the road that it soon bought out the state canals and in the end abandoned their operation entirely. Boston's projected canal was supplanted by the line which is now known as the Fitchburg Division of the Boston and Maine. The New York Central Railroad never succeeded in driving the Erie Canal out of business, for so large is the traffic from the West through New York State that at times railroads and canals together accommodate it with difficulty.

Says Professor Coman, comparing canals and railroads: "Canal traffic was safe and cheap, but slow and liable to be interrupted by slack water, floods, or frost. The Erie Canal, for example, freezes over in winter, and navigation is stopped for from four to five months in the year. A railroad can be built through mountainous country at one-third the cost of a canal, and over heights to which water cannot be conducted. A

The superiority of railroads over canals.

car run on wheels, fitted to the iron track, encounters less friction than a wagon on a turnpike, less resistance than a boat in water."

After the steamboat the steam locomotive was the modern world's next great improvement in methods of transportation. The prediction that the United States would some day break up because of long distances and consequent lack of common interests was losing its force. The new method of transportation

**The Union
strengthened.**



"DE WITT CLINTON" AND TRAIN

The first train in the state of New York, operated in 1831 between Albany and Schenectady.

could conquer nature as turnpikes and canals never could. The latter merely facilitated commerce along existing or natural routes of trade. Methods more ambitious were needed to connect the East with the growing West.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1828

John Quincy Adams came to the presidency a firm believer in strong national powers, like those favored by Congress after the War of 1812, but every one of his cherished measures failed, because large sections of the country had come to repudiate such policies. Sectionalism had succeeded nationalism, "hard feelings" had taken the place of "good feelings." For Adams the "times were out of joint." He had failed to secure the backing of the country in his attitude toward the Panama Congress and in his treatment of the Indians, and though favored by him the national bank, the national tariff, and national internal improvements had fallen into disrepute.

**The failure
of President
Adams's
measures.**

When the presidential year of 1828 came round, there was still the single Democratic-Republican or National-Republican party, split, however, into two factions headed respectively by President Adams and Andrew Jackson. The congressional caucus method of nominating the President having been thoroughly discredited in the contest of 1824, the legislatures of the various states temporarily exercised this function. Jackson's campaign for 1828 began in the first year of Adams's presidency with his nomination by the legislature of his own state of Tennessee. The movement, carefully nurtured by the cry of "bargain and corruption" arising out of the struggle of 1824, was promoted from time to time by the legislatures of many other states. Several northern legislatures renominated President Adams.

Every effort was made to keep Jackson before the public as a military hero, who had been cheated out of the presidency in 1824 by the fraud of the politicians and deserved vindication. His enemies instanced against him his duels and quarrels, recounted his alleged though never proved connection with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, and his arbitrary military executions while governor of the territory of Florida. The issue was personal, and Andrew Jackson, "the people's idol," was elected by 178 electoral votes to 83 for Adams. Calhoun was reelected Vice President.

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5. THE FIRST RAILROADS. DUNBAR, *Travel in America*, see index; SPARKS, *Expansion*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

How do you account for the rise and for the decline of the era of good feeling? Why was there so little opposition to the annexation of Florida? Compare Jefferson's motives in seeking the purchase of Louisiana and those of Monroe in announcing the Monroe Doctrine. What was the influence of the Declaration of Independence on slavery? of the Constitution? of the industrial revolution? of the cotton gin? How do you account for the failure of the great measures of the administration of J. Q. Adams? Did Vice President Calhoun break his oath of office to support the Constitution when he wrote the "Exposition and Protest"? What can you say in favor of the proposition that John Marshall was one of the great statesmen of the country in the first part of the nineteenth century? Why was the Supreme Court unpopular while Marshall presided over it? Was South Carolina justified in her attitude toward the tariff in 1828? What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1816, 1820, 1824, and 1828?

E. mon.

First Period of History

1789 - 89.

write out acts or laws 1789-1829

*that represent nation
ism + democracy*

*Life of Andrew Jackson
for Wash.*

Test Jul

Jefferson believed in Gov form
BH Jackson believed the Gov's
From 1829-1860
expansion & conflict.

CHAPTER XIX

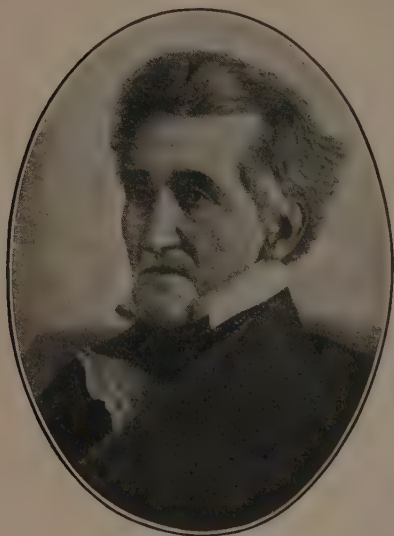
JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

ANDREW JACKSON, the first frontier President, proved to be one of the strongest Presidents in the history of the country. He was born of Scotch-Irish immigrant parents at Waxhaw in northern South Carolina in the year 1767; and like Henry Clay, as a young man he joined the westward movement, settling

Andrew
Jackson.

in eastern Tennessee. By his prowess against the Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole Indians, and against the British at New Orleans, he made himself the hero of the western frontier and indeed of the whole Union. He lacked not only the culture and education of the schools but also the training in statesmanship which his predecessors in the presidential office had possessed; but as a plain man of the people he knew the needs of the people, and as a trained man of action he succeeded in administering the government in their favor with military directness. He was as honest as the day is long; his genius for command was almost superhuman; and the people followed him as they had followed



ANDREW JACKSON

no other leader since Jefferson. Clay, Webster, Adams, and the other prominent men of the time, even Vice President Calhoun, figure in the story of his "reign" merely as his opponents. Few strong men took a place in his cabinet.

The administration of Jackson ushered in an even more democratic era than that of Jefferson. The people regarded Jackson as their

special representative, and came to Washington in crowds to see him inaugurated. Daniel Webster described the demonstrations at the inauguration as follows: "I never saw such a crowd before. Persons have come hundreds of miles to see General Jackson and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some dreadful danger. At the White House the crowds upset the pails of punch, broke the glasses, and stood with their muddy boots in the satin-covered chairs to see the people's President."

The new
régime of
democracy.

A large number of these visitors to Washington were office-seekers, and in the interest of this class Jackson disregarded the excellent example of his predecessors in the matter of appointments to office. Hundreds of office-holders, who had occupied their posts for many years and were therefore both experienced and efficient, he removed from office for the single reason that they did not belong to his faction and had not voted for him, and gave their places to the "boys" who had supported him. The "boys" were most of them inexperienced and many of them inefficient, but that made no difference to Jackson, who believed that "to the victor belong the spoils." This was the celebrated "spoils system," which for the next fifty years was more instrumental than any other one influence in rendering public service inefficient. It is a thoroughly unbusinesslike system, which the present civil service reform is now gradually undermining; yet, when measured by the standards of his contemporaries, Jackson must be relieved of a part of the odium that would otherwise attach to his name for adopting it, for his attitude toward the public service was a common one in his day. The spoils system in fact was introduced into national politics from the state politics of New York and Pennsylvania.

The spoils
system. ✓

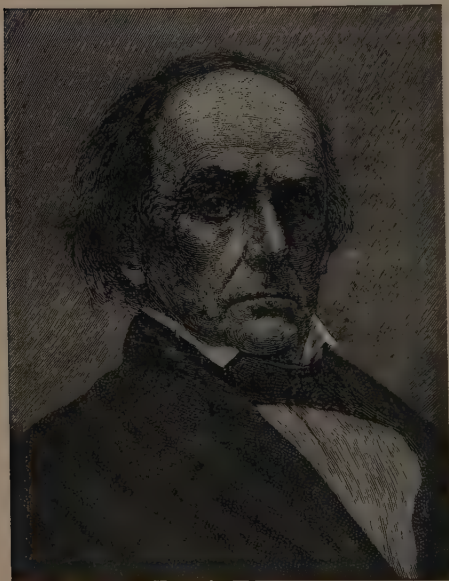
John Adams had not removed the appointees of Washington; Jefferson, leading a new party into power in 1801, did not remove all the Federal office-holders, but only a restricted number, in order, as he said, to even up the two parties in the control of the offices. As the Democratic-Republican administrations continued, more and more Federalists were weeded out, until at last most of the national offices were held by members of the single dominant party. When the Democratic-Republicans began to break up into factions under John Quincy Adams, that President refused to advance his own political fortunes by removing from office those who were opposed to him. What Adams refused to do, Jackson had no scruples in doing.

The attitude
of former
Presidents
toward the
civil service.

THE TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION

The sectionalism which had been rapidly developing since about 1820 was still rampant. Less than a year after Jackson took up the reins of office, a great constitutional debate on the nature of the Union took place in the United States Senate between Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina. The immediate occasion of the

The Webster-Hayne debate.



DANIEL WEBSTER

debate was a motion by a Senator from Connecticut that the government for the time being should desist from further sale of public lands in the West. The motion was looked upon as springing from "jealousy of the West and a desire to retard its growth," and was opposed by both western and southern members. Already aroused against the national government and especially against New England, as a result of the tariff controversy of 1828, the South was ready to join another section in resistance to the control of national policy by the commercial Northeast.

Hayne left the immediate subject of the land sales to launch into a bitter attack upon New England, and ended with an eloquent outburst in support of Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest" of 1828. Webster replied as the champion of New England, and delivered one of the greatest orations in the history of Congress. He opened with a spirited defense of his section, and then, turning to Hayne's exposition of states' rights, sought to arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers for the national Union and for the Supreme Court as the common judge between the Union and the states. He pointed out the absurdities of the arguments of Calhoun and eloquently pictured the benefits of Union. According to his view, the people and not the states made the Consti-

Webster's attack on states' rights.

tution and declared it to be the supreme law of the land; the general government was not the mere agent of the states but was supreme over them by the Constitution. He poured ridicule on the idea that the United States was "servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes and yet bound to obey all. . . . It so happens that at the very moment when South Carolina resolves that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, Pennsylvania and Kentucky resolve exactly the reverse. . . . Does not this approach absurdity? . . . It is too plain to be argued. Four and twenty interpreters of constitutional law, each with a power to decide for itself, and none with authority to bind anybody else, and this constitutional law the only bond of their Union!"

When a state law came into conflict with a law of the United States, the difference, Webster declared, should be decided by the Supreme Court, as the Constitution itself provided, and not by the states. For a state to decide for itself to annul a national law would amount to a challenge to the authorities of the United States to rise up and assert themselves in defense of the Union, the direct result of which would be a lamentable collision between force and force. This the orator could not sanction. "While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision may never be opened what lies beyond. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the Sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather, behold the glorious ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards;' but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!'"

When in 1832 a tariff law was passed with rates slightly lower than those of 1828 but still displeasing to the Southerners, South Carolina assumed the lead of the dissatisfied sections and called a state convention to consider the situation.

Abhorrence
of civil war.

South Caro-
lina's state
convention.

The old military chieftain at the head of the government was not the man to tolerate insubordination when it was his sworn duty to enforce obedience. His toast at a banquet in honor of Thomas Jefferson was, "The Federal Union, it must be preserved;" and to a certain partisan of states' rights and nullification he threatened that he "would hang him higher than Haman" if he persisted in his course. Without referring the matter to Congress, as many a President would have done, Jackson sent United States troops to South Carolina's chief port at Charleston to collect the duty at all hazards. He might have called out the state militia, as Washington had done at the time of the whisky insurrection, but the unfortunate experiences of President Madison with that branch of the military service in New England during the War of 1812-1815 did not recommend such a course.

In spite of the presence of the troops the convention of the dissatisfied state came together, and basing its action on the theory of states' rights of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Hartford Convention, and Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest," gave to that theory a practical demonstration by passing an Ordinance of Nullification. This Ordinance, passed in November, 1832, declared the tariff laws of the United States null and void within the limits of the state of South Carolina, forbade the citizens of the state to pay the tariff duties, and threatened that the state would secede from the Union if the national government persisted in collecting the duty. The theory of states' rights had received the most complete expression it was destined to receive down to the actual secession of the Southern States in 1860-1861. It was known that the neighboring Southern States shared the sentiments of South Carolina, though they had not taken the same action. The President replied to the ordinance in a ringing proclamation, pointing out that it was his duty "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and warning the people of South Carolina of "the danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the convention." Congress backed up the President by the passage of the Force Act, giving him unusual powers to collect the duties in a special customhouse, even in a floating customhouse on board a ship in the harbor, if that proved necessary; and on the same day, in March, 1833, under the leadership of Clay, Congress passed a Compromise Tariff Act which would gradually lower the rates. The convention of the state then repealed its Ordinance of Nullification, but attempted to preserve a show of spirit by adopting a useless ordinance nullifying the Force Act.

The new compromise tariff provided for a lowering of the rates from year to year down to 1842, when in comparison with the existing rates of 1833 they would be quite moderate. Though the question of states' rights was by no means settled, each side in the controversy claimed a victory, for while the state succeeded in securing a lowering of the duties, the President and Congress prevented the actual refusal of any individual citizen of South Carolina to pay the tariff. The reaction against a national tariff had reached its height and been checked, and a valuable lesson had been taught to sectionalists, nullificationists, and secessionists as to the meaning and practical outcome of their doctrines.

**The Com-
promise of
1833.**

An important phase of the episode was the precedent set by the President of the United States in favor of vigorous executive action, if ever again a state should assume to carry its dispute with the national government to the point of open disobedience. When this sad result did come to pass less than thirty years' later, the President of that day was far less vigorous in defense of the Union, and the people of the loyal States sighed, "Oh! for an hour of Andrew Jackson!"

**The prece-
dent for vig-
orous execu-
tive action.**

THE BANK, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, AND THE INDIANS

After this vindication of the national honor President Jackson settled other questions more to the liking of the states' rights element. The decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the constitutionality of the national bank in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* did not put an end to the opposition of the state banks. They were jealous of the greater security of the larger institution, of its power over the smaller banks, and of its privilege of receiving the money of the United States on deposit and lending it out at interest. The great bank was to them a "wicked monopoly," and all sorts of illegal practices, including bribery at elections, were charged against it. President Jackson believed in the truth of the accusations and willingly used his influence for its destruction.

**Opposition
to the na-
tional bank.**

In the presidential election of 1832 the two rival candidates of the once dominant Democratic-Republican party were President Jackson and Henry Clay. The latter forced the issue of the renewal of the charter of the bank as the leading question of the campaign by counseling his followers in Congress, who were in a majority, to pass a bill renewing the charter four years before its expiration, in order to place Jackson in the difficult position of signing or vetoing the bill on the eve of the

**The bank
and the
presidential
contest of
1832.**

presidential campaign. Clay was of the opinion that the President, though outspoken in his opposition to the bank, would not dare to veto the bill for the re-charter through fear of the political consequences, while executive approval of the bill would lay the President open to the charge of inconsistency. True to his stand Jackson vetoed the bill, and contrary to Clay's expectations he was nevertheless triumphantly reelected. Seven electoral votes were cast for William Wirt, the candidate of the Anti-Masonic party, organized in opposition to the fraternal order of Masons, eleven for John Floyd, an independent candidate, forty-nine for Clay, and two hundred and nineteen for Jackson.

Interpreting his success at the polls as popular approval of his attitude toward the bank, Jackson attempted to destroy the institution entirely, before the expiration of its charter. He ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit no more money of the nation with the hated monopoly, but rather in certain designated state banks, thereupon nicknamed "pet banks." The bank of the United States, though not at once ruined, dragged out a weak existence till the expiration of its charter in 1836, and after that date lived on a few years under a charter from the state of Pennsylvania. Again the states were in control of the banking business of the country.

The Senate of the United States passed a vote of censure upon Jackson to the effect "that the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." The President replied in a dignified protest, in which he claimed, first, that he possessed full power to give orders to the Secretary of the Treasury, who was only his clerk; and second, that the only constitutional way for the Senate to censure the President was to sit as a court of impeachment to try charges brought against him by the House of Representatives, which would give the accused the opportunity to defend himself, denied to Jackson by the vote of censure. Three years later the Senate expunged the resolution of censure from its journal.

When the question of internal improvements at the nation's expense came before President Jackson, he took the stand that Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had taken before him. In May, 1830, Congress sent to him for approval a bill, called the Maysville Road Bill, authorizing and requiring the government to take stock in a turnpike road stretching from Maysville, Kentucky, on the Ohio River, to Lexington, Kentucky. The project was

The withdrawal of the government deposits from the bank.

The President censured.

Jackson and the Maysville Road Bill.

designed by Clay, who with Albert Gallatin had taken the lead in pushing the Cumberland Road and now proposed the new road as the first section of an extension of that thoroughfare from the Ohio to New Orleans. The President vetoed the bill on the ground that the national government could not take such action till an amendment was added to the Constitution giving it power in definite terms. In addition to the constitutional objection, the President may have been moved to opposition by the fact that it was in Clay's own state that the improvement was to originate; and he may also have foreseen that the policy of expenditure along such lines might serve as an argument for a protective tariff, in that the former would relieve the embarrassment of an overflowing treasury occasioned by the latter.

Jackson's position regarding the Maysville Road Bill was somewhat inconsistent with his action in signing other bills of a similar nature, though these were for the improvement of rivers and harbors and not for the construction of roads. He was **Other projects.** sufficiently conversant with the needs of the frontier to know that improved means of communication were imperative, but he advocated the accomplishment of this end by the states and was in favor of distributing to them the growing surplus in the United States treasury. The fact that a few of the states and certain private enterprises were already successfully engaged in carrying on the desired improvements lent support to the President's stand.

When Jackson came into office, the state of Georgia was still engaged in its struggle to remove the Creek and Cherokee Indians from its borders to the regions west of the Mississippi. In contrast to President Adams, who vainly attempted to defend the Indians against what he considered unfair treatment, Jackson, who knew from experience how the presence of the Indians hindered the settlement of the country, upheld the state at every step. To assert its jurisdiction over the lands of the Cherokees, the courts of Georgia tried a Cherokee, Corn Tassels by name, for murder, and found him guilty. Against the order of the Supreme Court of the United States the officials of the state put the culprit to death, and the President did not interfere. On another occasion a certain missionary was arrested and convicted by the state for entering, without state license, upon the lands held by the Indians, and was kept in prison in defiance of the Supreme Court of the United States. Again the President refused to uphold the court. "John Marshall has made his decision," he is reported to have said; "now let him enforce it." Disheartened, the Cherokees at last gave up their lands to the United States for a stipulated sum and consented to

**The removal
of the In-
dians from
Georgia.**

removal to Indian Territory, which Jackson recommended to be set aside for the Indian tribes.

Though it is one of the duties of the President to enforce the decisions of the Supreme Court as the final interpretation of the laws of the land,

President Jackson and the Supreme Court. Jackson maintained that the decisions of the court bound no branch of the government except the judicial branch; that the Executive, in fact, had quite as much

right as the court to decide upon the constitutionality of laws and to enforce its own views rather than those of the court when there was a conflict of opinion. Daniel Webster, in criticism of this opinion, called the President's opinion "wild" and "disorganizing." "The Constitution declares," said Webster, "that every public officer, in the state governments as well as in the national governments, shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. This is all. Would it not have cast an air of ridicule upon the whole provision, if the Constitution had gone on to add the words, 'as he understands it'? What would have come nearer a solemn farce than to bind a man by oath, and still leave him to be the interpreter of his own obligation?" Jackson's attitude has been discredited, but he maintained it consistently to the end of his presidency.

Before Jackson went out of office five of the seven judges of the Supreme Court were of his appointment. Chief Justice Marshall,

Changes in the Supreme Court. who had been appointed by John Adams in 1801, died in 1835, and was succeeded by Roger B. Taney of Maryland.

As Secretary of the Treasury during the bank controversy, Taney had supported President Jackson, and his elevation to the chief justiceship was regarded as a political reward. He ranks second only to his great predecessor in the profoundness of his legal reasoning and the lucidity and power of his decisions. As reconstituted by Jackson, the nationalizing influence of the court was temporarily checked.

In two instances there was open war with the Indians in Jackson's time. The first was with the Sacs and Foxes of the Northwest. The

War with the Sacs and Foxes. savages of this region first clashed with the advancing tide of white settlement in Ohio, where they were defeated by General Wayne in 1794; then farther west in Indiana,

where they were overcome by General Harrison in 1811; and now in 1832 still farther west in Illinois and Wisconsin. Here the usual fate was meted out to them, notwithstanding the obstinate stand of their leader, Blackhawk. One of the soldiers of the frontier militia of Illinois at this time was Abraham Lincoln, and one of the United States regulars was Jefferson Davis.

The second Indian war of Jackson's administration was with the Seminoles of Florida. Since their conquest by Jackson himself in 1818, these Indians had retreated far down into the peninsula; and in 1835 they protested against removal to the West in a war which proved longer and more bitter than the usual Indian outbreaks. The conflict opened with a massacre of over one hundred United States soldiers, and was waged with great bitterness on both sides for eight years. Hundreds of lives were lost and over \$30,000,000 expended in putting down the uprising. The remnants of the Seminoles were at last forcibly removed beyond the Mississippi.

The second war against the Seminoles.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It might be supposed that the annexation of Louisiana and Florida by the United States would have put the state of Mexico on the lookout against any such fate for her own territory. Perhaps the friendly Monroe Doctrine had thrown Mexico off her guard. She refused cash offers for the cession of Texas, when tendered to her first by President John Quincy Adams and later by President Andrew Jackson. She preferred to develop Texas under her own flag. To this end, not realizing the inevitable result, she freely invited the citizens of the United States to come and live in her northern province, offering them large grants of land at the wonderfully cheap rate of twelve and one-half cents per acre. The price in the United States after 1820 for farms on the public domain was ten times as great. Hundreds seized the opportunity, and only after it was too late did the Mexicans attempt to stem the tide. It was like the irresistible march of settlers across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, or through Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

Emigration to the Mexican province of Texas.

Conflict with the Mexicans was an unavoidable consequence. It could not be expected that citizens of the United States, with Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins and with the independent spirit of frontiersmen, would feel loyalty to the weak and shifting government of Mexico. Once settled in the province of Texas, the immigrants quarreled with the native inhabitants, broke into open rebellion, and on March 2, 1836, declared Texas a free and independent state. The Texas War of Independence opened with a terrible massacre by the Mexicans of one hundred and fifty Texans at the Alamo, an old Spanish mission building in San Antonio, Texas, and closed with the battle of San Jacinto, in which the insurgents under General Sam Houston won a notable victory over President Santa Anna and his Mexican followers. Six hundred Mexicans were killed in the battle, two hundred injured, and Santa Anna made prisoner. Houston

The independence of Texas.

was made President of the new Republic of Texas, and in spite of the fact that Mexico still claimed Texas as her own, the President and Congress of the United States recognized the independence of the revolted state. After such an unfriendly act by the United States, the neighboring sister republic and the nations farther south began to question the sincerity of the Monroe Doctrine.

Although not a diplomat, Jackson scored a triumph in foreign dealings where other Presidents had failed. He was successful in inducing Great Britain at last to do away with the regulations which had barred United States vessels from the trade of the West Indies since the days of the Revolution. The victory, however, was largely a barren one, because the West Indian trade, important to New England in colonial times, was no longer so highly desirable as formerly. Not only was capital being diverted from shipping into manufacturing, but the once coveted sugar and molasses were being supplied in increasing quantities from Louisiana. Moreover, subsequent events in the islands themselves soon diminished their commercial importance, for their labor system was undermined by the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1833 and British trade discriminations in their favor ceased with the adoption of free trade in Great Britain in 1846-1849, so that the prosperity of the once wealthy British West Indies was soon a thing of the past.

The opening
up of the
British West
Indies to
trade.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

There had been a slight financial panic in the United States in 1819, after which the country entered upon a period of great prosperity, which lasted to the end of Jackson's presidency. John Quincy Adams declared of this prosperity that it was "as large and liberal as the indulgence of Heaven has ever granted to the imperfect state of man upon earth." The crops were bountiful, especially that of cotton, which increased in the new Southwest from 500,000 to 900,000 bales annually in the short period of President Jackson's second term. The national debt of \$90,000,000 in 1821 was gradually reduced, till by 1834 it was entirely discharged and a surplus was piling up in the treasury. At a loss to know what to do with the surplus, Congress finally distributed it among the states, to be used as they saw fit. Some of the states devoted the gift to the construction of roads and canals, some to the improvement of the public school system, and some even divided it up among individual citizens. Population grew from 10,000,000 in 1821 to 12,000,000 in 1830 and 16,000,000 in 1837. The most amazing advances in population were in the West, where

General
prosperity.

Michigan, in the same interval of sixteen years, increased her 10,000 twentyfold, Ohio her 600,000 over twofold, Indiana her 150,000 fourfold, Illinois her 60,000 almost sevenfold, and Mississippi her 80,000 fourfold. Iowa and Wisconsin, uninhabited by whites in 1821, contained, in 1837, the one 43,000 and the other 30,000 inhabitants.

No single indication of the wonderful prosperity was more impressive than the feverish haste with which the new states constructed internal improvements. Ohio in a few years built over five hundred miles of state canals, two of them connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River; Illinois planned thirteen hundred miles of state-owned railroads, improved the navigation of five of her rivers, and, in all, actually expended over eight million dollars, till her debt amounted to twenty-nine dollars for every man, woman, and child in the state. On railroads, canals, and rivers the three states of Michigan, Indiana, and Missouri together expended almost fifty million dollars. In all the Union, by 1836, over 1200 miles of railroads had been constructed. The policy of the national government in refusing financial aid for these improvements seemed justified. In 1820 many states had no state debts whatever and all the states together in this year owed but \$12,000,000; in 1840 the sum total of state debts was \$200,000,000, most of it incurred for internal improvements.

Extensive
internal im-
provements
by the
states. ✓

The whole American people seemed bent on speculation, as is common in times of prosperity; and inasmuch as the price of public lands was fixed by law at \$1.25 per acre and did not vary, while all other prices were on the increase, the favorite speculation was in these lands. For the decade of the twenties the annual land sales averaged only slightly above \$1,000,000; in 1834 they reached \$4,800,000; in 1835, \$14,700,000; and in 1836 \$24,000,000. During Jackson's two administrations the government deposits in the state banks rose from \$10,000,000 to over \$40,000,000. Such heavy deposits in the "pet banks" constituted an irresistible temptation to many to go into the banking business, in the hope of being favored with a portion of the government's money. From 1829 to 1837 the number of the state banks more than doubled, their total capital went ahead by leaps and bounds, and the number of their paper notes in circulation as money expanded from \$48,000,000 to \$149,000,000.

Speculation.

The banks so suddenly called into existence were called "wildcat" banks, and their currency "wildcat" currency. In the vaults of these banks there was practically no gold or silver back of the notes as security for their redemption; and the people in their ordinary business transactions accepted the notes at their

The "wild-
cat banks." ✓

face value merely out of their faith in the good name of the local bank issuing them and because the United States government so accepted them at the land sales and in other government transactions. These notes, thus abundantly issued and kept in constant circulation, made money plenty, so that speculators borrowed at the banks with ease and made their investments with unusual recklessness. The government itself encouraged the "merry-go-round" of money. The "wild-cats" were taken in by the government officials at the land sales, were by them deposited in the "pet banks," which loaned them out to the



CHICAGO IN 1832

speculators again, who in turn presented them again to the government at other land sales; and so on in a circle. A day of reckoning was to come in the not distant future, which would prove that no money was good that did not have actual value behind it.

Material progress characterized city and country alike. Hundreds of communities were reached by the railroad trains for the first time, and were thus enabled the better to attract the floating population that was spreading in every direction. Real estate values rose tremendously in a general boom. In Mobile, Alabama, for example, the value of real estate rose from \$1,200,000 in 1831 to \$27,000,000 in 1837. In every section the tendency was the same. New public improvements spread from city to city. Artificial gas, which was first used for illuminating purposes in London in 1814 and in Paris in 1820, was introduced in Baltimore in 1816, in Boston in 1822, in New York in 1823, and in Philadelphia in 1837. While in 1790 only four towns in all the United States had systems of public water works, in Jackson's time such systems were becoming common.

Lowell, Massachusetts, may be taken as typical of the early factory towns produced by the industrial revolution in the United States. It was incorporated as a town in 1826. In 1820, before any factories had been erected there, the population was about two hundred; factories began to go up by 1822, and in 1825 the population was 2500, in 1832 10,000, in 1836 17,500, and in 1844 25,000. In the year 1836 there were nine cotton factories in the city, with a combined capital of \$7,000,000, hiring 7000 operatives, of whom 5500 were young women and girls. The factories of Lowell at this time were three or four stories in height, frequently provided with a bell tower or cupola, well lighted and clean, and marvelously unbedimmed with smoke. The sum of \$600,000 was already invested in canals and locks in the immediate vicinity.

A typical factory town.

The factory system, introduced in America at the beginning of the century, was well developed by the time of Jackson's presidency. The motive power to run the machinery was obtained almost entirely from the swift river currents. To accommodate themselves to the new principles of industrial organization, the working classes found it necessary to lay aside the small domestic manufacturing which they had previously carried on in their scattered and isolated homes, and to gather themselves under a common roof, for common effort. A new system of labor was evolved, for the concentration of artisans meant the appearance in the community of a unique social class, possessed of its own special needs, which were different from those of any other class. The factory owners soon realized the exigencies of the new situation, and erected both boarding houses for the accommodation and protection of the young women in their employ and separate tenements for the married employees and their families, while at the same time they made generous contributions for the support of the schools and churches in the community. The employees were frequently paid, in whole or in part, in "orders" on the company store, where commodities for their use were on sale. A time-table of the Lowell mills for the year 1852 shows that in the month of June of that year the first bell of the factory awakened the operatives at four-thirty in the morning, a second bell came at four-fifty, and the day's work began by the third bell, early enough to allow of a work period of an hour or so before breakfast. Bells rang for the beginning and the end of the breakfast and dinner periods of thirty-five minutes each, and the evening bell to stop work came at seven. Work, therefore, was long, ranging from twelve to fifteen hours per day.

The new factory system.

These first factories were comparatively small, and they disposed

of their products under a system of free and unrestricted competition with one another, with nothing to suggest the gigantic business corporations and the absence of competition of the present day. Moreover any one factory was usually owned by a single man or a small group of men, who lived near the factory and managed its affairs either in person or through an agent or superintendent. The relations between capital and labor, if not always satisfactory, were on the whole intimate, and the personal contact often brought it about that employers took thought for the social and moral welfare of the laborers, and the latter realized that their interests were bound up with those of capital.

Still there were conflicts on some occasions between employers and employees, as in the extraordinary times of Jackson's administration, when prices rose more rapidly than wages. In the temporary descriptions of the numerous strikes that accompanied the unrest, one reads of the "pickets" and "scabs" that figure in present-day strikes, of demands for higher wages, shorter hours, coöperative enterprises, and restriction of immigration. Notwithstanding the welcome to immigrants, which had been the policy of the country from the beginning, organized labor now cried out against the new arrivals from Europe, who were filling the labor market to overflowing and keeping down wages. Riots against the Irish immigrants, who were coming in large numbers to work on the canals and railroads, were common occurrences. The first national convention of labor unions in the history of the country was held in 1834.

Many new appliances were introduced in the industrial world during this progressive period. Anthracite coal was first used in 1825 to generate steam and in 1837 to smelt iron. In 1836-1838, from the inventive genius of John Ericsson, came the new screw propellers on steamboats, and in 1838, though steam vessels had been in use for some time in the coasting trade, steamships began making their first regular trips across the Atlantic, with the successful voyages of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*. The present Cunard line was established in 1840. European friction matches came into use, and that forerunner of modern photography, the daguerreotype. Between 1840 and 1850 Charles Goodyear gave to the world his invention of vulcanized rubber, Dr. William T. G. Morton his discovery of the use of ether as an anæsthetic, Elias Howe the sewing machine, Richard M. and Peter S. Hoe the modern newspaper printing press, and Samuel F. B. Morse the perfected telegraph. The manufacture of edge tools, axes, hatchets, chisels, and planes was begun in America in 1826.

Other labor-saving devices were coming into use which were des-



A FACTORY TOWN IN 1838 (LOWELL, MASS.)

tined both to revolutionize farming and at the same time to build up manufacturing. The revolving hay-rake, superseding the hand-rake, dates from this time. The first patent for a mowing machine, to take the place of the old hand scythe, was granted to William Manning of New Jersey in 1831, and the first patent for a reaping machine was obtained by Obed Hussey

**Improved
agricultural
machinery.**



THE ORIGINAL MCCORMICK REAPER

of Maryland in 1833. In 1834 came Cyrus H. McCormick's reaper, which was to prove as important in the agricultural development of the North as Whitney's cotton gin in the development of the South. New threshing machines did away with former crude methods, the first designs of seed drills and cultivators came into use, and commercial fertilizers for the first time became practical. Iron plows were fast driving out the crude wooden plows of the earlier days.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The spirit of progress extended to the political and social ideals of the time. The United States as an independent republic had now been in existence for fifty years; national customs were beginning to crystallize and growing tendencies to reach the point of asserting themselves. One of the great experiments of the world's history is this big democratic republic of the United States of America, so many times larger than any other republic in the world's history. Could plain people, left to themselves

**Fundamental
changes in
national
life.**

in a frontier country, govern themselves on such a large scale? What kind of laws would they pass? Thoughtful men and women the world over, especially in monarchical Europe, where the common people had little power, awaited with interest the answer of the Americans to these questions. Few new governments have attracted such world-wide attention.

In the political world democracy had faith in its own professions and went on making itself more and more democratic. When Thomas Jefferson came into the presidency, scarcely one man in six could vote; men were debarred from the suffrage who ^{New ideas in politics.} did not own a certain amount of property or pay a certain amount of taxes, some even because they were Jews or Roman Catholics or disbelievers in the Trinity. Now in Jackson's time the theories of Jefferson were being put into practical operation in what was rapidly approaching universal manhood suffrage. Shortly before 1830 Massachusetts and New York abolished property and tax qualifications for voting, Maryland gave the suffrage to Jews, and a few radicals were beginning the agitation in favor of the extension of the suffrage to women. In Rhode Island, where the people were still living under the narrow restrictions of the charter of 1663, the movement for a wider suffrage increased in intensity until it reached the point of a civil uprising in 1842, known as Dorr's Rebellion, which attained its end at last, though its leader, Thomas W. Dorr, was imprisoned. Voters insisted on taking political power into their own hands more than ever before. In some states, where at first the presidential electors had been chosen by the members of the state legislature, the people by 1829 were beginning to choose the electors by popular vote; and in other states, which had allowed various officials to secure their places by appointment, the people began to select the officials by popular election. To prevent the rise of an "office-holding aristocracy" the principle of rotation in office was widely put into operation, calling for shorter terms of office and a limited reëligibility. In place of the former method of nominating party candidates for office by the caucus of the party representatives in the membership of the state legislature, there was substituted the system of popular nomination of officials by a convention of delegates, chosen for this purpose by the rank and file of the party. The legislative caucus was secret, liable to corruption, and in its practical operation it subjected the executive officials whom it named to the undue influence of the legislators who gave the nomination. In districts represented in the legislature by the members of one party, the voters of the opposite party had no voice in the selection of their party candidates. All these difficulties were

obviated by the convention of delegates "fresh from the people." The new system was in existence in a number of the states when Jackson came into office in 1829, and was applied to the nomination of the president for the first time by the Anti-Masonic party in 1831.

• Men were beginning to give more attention to the unfortunate, to the blind, to the deaf and dumb, and to the insane. Massachusetts built the first state asylum for the blind in 1833, and her example was followed by four other states before the year 1840 and by almost a score more in the next twenty years. The first separate asylum for the deaf and dumb was established in Connecticut in 1817, and several more were founded in the thirties. Although there had been two or three asylums for the insane before the War of Independence, the first state asylum for this class was erected after the second war with Great Britain. There were six such asylums by 1830, seven more were founded in the next decade, and by 1860 in all the states the total was over forty. This noble charity was in large part the result of the labors of Miss Dorothea L. Dix, who traveled thousands of miles from county to county throughout the Union in her work of philanthropy, inspecting and improving conditions wherever she went.

The custom of putting people in prison for debt was disappearing. Formerly thousands were put into prison every year for this one offense. In the city of Boston the number of victims for a single year totalled over three thousand, two-thirds of whom were convicted for debts of less than \$20; and one-eighth of the victims were women. In Providence, Rhode Island, a widow was imprisoned for a debt of sixty-eight cents.

A strong tide was setting in against the public execution of criminals, and against capital punishment under any circumstances. Lotteries to raise money for public buildings and for other purposes were coming under condemnation. Socialism of the modern type was not without its advocates. Temperance reform was also beginning to sweep the country, though no state prohibition law was placed on the statute books till the state of Maine took this step under the leadership of Neal Dow in 1851.

Education for the masses gained ground rapidly after the Federalists were supplanted by the party of Jefferson and Jackson. The appearance of a distinct laboring class in the cities and the widening of the suffrage tended to direct attention to the importance of popular education. Leaders like Henry Barnard and Horace Mann organized the first state and national teachers' associations, founded the first normal schools, and led in the demand

for the expenditure of more public money upon the school system. Massachusetts abolished tuition fees in her schools in 1826, and she was followed slowly by other states. In 1821 a public high school had appeared in Boston, whence the system spread throughout New England and the Middle States. Colleges continued to multiply with the growth of the country, and in the decade between 1830 and 1840 sixty-seven colleges and universities were founded, including some of the most prominent western institutions of the present day. Business colleges and night schools made their appearance in the manufacturing centers of the East, and here and there Roman Catholic schools were springing up.

The colonial period and the early years of the republic produced little literature that was worthy of the name, but by the middle of the nineteenth century a brilliant group of American writers had appeared,—Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William H. Prescott, George Bancroft, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Cullen Bryant, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and Francis Parkman. The works of these men in prose and verse effectively answered Sydney Smith's sneer of 1820, "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" Noah Webster's epoch-making unabridged dictionary appeared in 1828, and his famous spelling book, first published in 1783, when he was twenty-five years of age, was now issued by hundreds of thousands. Modern journalism was taking its rise in the newly established *New York Herald* of James Gordon Bennett, the *New York Tribune* of Horace Greeley, and the *New York Sun*.

Literary activity.

The religious life of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century was different in many respects from that of the colonies. Many new sects sprang up and were tolerated. Unitarianism split off from the prevailing Congregational Church in New England in 1820. The Second Day Adventists reached a height of great popularity in 1843, when thousands of people in various sections of the country awaited the second coming of Christ and the end of the world. Joseph Smith's "The Book of Mormon," destined to usher in an entirely new religious cult, appeared in 1830. Although Smith himself was murdered by a mob in Illinois, Mormonism did not die. Under a new leader, Brigham Young, the faithful withdrew from the inhospitable borders of civilization and betook themselves across the desert into Mexican territory, in what is now the state of Utah, where they founded a prosperous colony. Within a few months after their arrival, Mexico ceded the land to the

New sects in the religious world.

United States and the Mormons found themselves again within the jurisdiction of the latter country. When Utah later became a state, polygamy, which was formerly a practice of the Mormons, was abandoned as a tenet of the church as being contrary to the laws of the United States.

Stirred by the prevailing spirit of reform, the people of the United States were turning instinctively to more and more democracy, to the improvement of the conditions of life around them, and to the promotion of happiness among all classes. It was in response to this spirit of the age as well as to the stimulus given to the anti-slavery agitation by the debate over the Missouri Com-

promise, that the sentiment arose to a limited extent in the Northern States, which had freed their own slaves, in favor of forcing immediate and unconditional emancipation of the blacks upon the Southern States, where slavery still existed.

The abolitionists, as those were called who took part in this radical movement against slavery, demanded not only the freedom of the blacks but the granting to them of the social and political privileges of the whites. They opposed compensation to the masters for the loss of the money invested in the slaves, and they took no account of the sufferings that would result



WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

to both whites and blacks if their programme were carried out.

The new ideas were urged with great ability in a weekly paper, the *Liberator*, started in Boston in 1831 by William Lloyd Garrison, then twenty-four years old. Garrison had received his inspiration from a Quaker preacher, Benjamin Lundy, who devoted his life to the cause of the blacks, traveling thousands of miles in the interests of the cause, addressing hundreds of meetings, and editing a newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. For a short time Garrison helped Lundy on this paper in Baltimore, but not finding it radical enough he withdrew and set up his own paper in Boston.

William
Lloyd
Garrison.

"Our country is the world, our countrymen all mankind," ran the motto of the *Liberator*; while the first editorial declared, "Assenting to the 'self-evident truth' maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, 'that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. . . . I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD."

These ideas aroused excitement both on account of their radical nature and on account of the vehemence with which they were expressed. When the Northern States abolished slavery during or soon after the War of the Revolution, as a rule they took the step gradually, in most cases remunerated the masters for their losses, and did not insist on giving to the freedmen all the social privileges of the whites. Each state, moreover, took the step by itself, with little or no interference from the neighboring states. This was abolition of a more moderate type than Garrison's, and it was in harmony with these moderate principles that the American Colonization Society was organized with the avowed purpose of taking the freed blacks out of the country into Africa, where the demand for social equality with the whites would not arise.

The old
ideas on
slavery.

The majority of people in the North as well as in the South, even of the anti-slavery sympathizers, adhered to the more conservative view, and disapproved of the idea of immediate emancipation, the denial of compensation to the owners, equality of whites and blacks, the abandonment of the scheme of colonization, and the interference regarding the matter in one state by the people of another. The destruction of the prosperity of the West Indies, wrought by the abolition of slavery there, added to the force of the conservative position.

The clash of
the new and
old ideas on
slavery.

Shortly after the *Liberator* made its appearance a serious negro insurrection broke out in southeastern Virginia under the leadership of a slave, one Nat Turner, which resulted in the murder of nearly one hundred whites before it was put down. The South was in alarm. "Let us alone," the Southerners cried: "keep out your *Liberators* and the other abolition papers from our mails; it is they that are arousing the slaves to revolt. Prevent the spread of your abolition ideas; put Garrison in prison, and stop the publication of his paper." Rewards, aggregating thousands of dollars, were offered by Southerners for the arrest of the abolition editor.

Southern
resentment
against the
abolitionists.

A large majority of the northern people sympathized with these

demands. Garrison was mobbed on the streets of Boston, abolition meetings in New York were broken up and a negro asylum burned, and in Connecticut a schoolhouse, into which negro pupils were admitted, was destroyed. Still the abolitionists were not put down. Their local societies were shortly numbered by the hundreds; a national organization, the American Anti-Slavery Society, was established; and several of their champions, notably the venerable ex-President, John Quincy Adams, were elected to Congress. The startling growth of the movement is to be credited not only to the general spirit of reform sweeping over the United States and other countries, but also in particular to the ability and persistency of its leader, William Lloyd Garrison.

The southern radicals made the mistake of dragging slavery into the arena of national politics on two different issues, and the results in each case redounded to the advantage of abolitionism.

The anti-slavery petitions in Congress. The first concerned freedom of speech in Congress itself. Petitions began to pour in on both houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the restriction of the interstate trade in slaves, and for kindred reforms. In the Senate Calhoun called the petitions "a foul slander" on the South; Wise of Virginia in the House of Representatives based his opposition to them on the ground that "slavery is interwoven with our very political existence." The Southerners insistently demanded that the petitions be laid on the table without discussion, but ex-President Adams pointed out that to "gag" the petitions in this way would be contrary to the Constitution, which stipulates in the first amendment that Congress shall make no law abridging "the right of the people to petition the government for redress of grievances." The "gag rule" in this case was nevertheless adopted. In the daily proceedings in the House of Representatives at the hour for presenting petitions, Adams would rise with the words, "I hold in my hand a request from the citizens of . . . praying for the abolition of slavery in . . ." He would forthwith be declared out of order, only to rise again with another, and to be checked in the same way. The cause of freedom was strengthened by the attention thus dramatically drawn to slavery, and in 1844 the rule was abandoned by the House.

The presence in the mails of printed matter dealing with abolition was the occasion of a second alignment of forces in Congress on the subject of slavery. Postmasters in slave states were in the habit of opening private mail and retaining all abolition matter found; the President, through the Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, refused to interfere; and the

The question of abolition matter in the mails.

southern leaders felt emboldened to propose a law formally prohibiting the use of the mails for abolitionist purposes. Undoubtedly Congress possessed the power to pass such a law, just as at the present day it exercises the same right when it excludes from the mails all circulars and letters in the interests of a known fraud; but public opinion against the exclusion of the abolitionist mail was too strong and the measure was defeated.

NEW POLITICAL PARTIES

The Garrisonian abolitionists, believing with their leader that the Constitution of the United States was a "Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell," denounced that document for its tolerance of slavery and applauded when Garrison burned a copy of it in public. They proclaimed the motto, "No union with slaveholders," refused to vote or to hold office, or to belong to political parties, so that their opposition never took political form. In 1840 a group of abolitionists, mainly in the West, formed the "Liberty party," which was the first political organization in the United States in the interests of emancipation.

Early in Jackson's second term the opponents of the President organized themselves into a new party, on a platform demanding a national bank, a protective tariff, and internal improvements at the expense of the nation. They took the name of Whigs because of the popularity of the British party of this name, which had opposed the Tory government of George III at the time of the Revolution. Clay, Webster, and the other Whigs accepted the doctrine of loose construction of the Constitution and stood for the principle of a strong central government. At about the same time the followers of President Jackson took the name of Democrats. The strife and jealousies of the leaders following the era of good feeling had thus sundered the all-triumphant party of the Democratic-Republicans into two new organizations.

In their first national campaign, that of 1836, the Whigs did not make a formal nomination for the presidency, but divided their votes among four candidates, William Henry Harrison of Indiana, the hero of Tippecanoe, Hugh L. White of Tennessee, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and W. P. Mangum of North Carolina. At the dictation of President Jackson the Democrats nominated Vice President Martin Van Buren, who was elected by a vote of 170 in the electoral colleges to 124 for his four Whig opponents together.

The Liberty
party.

The Whigs
and the
Democrats.

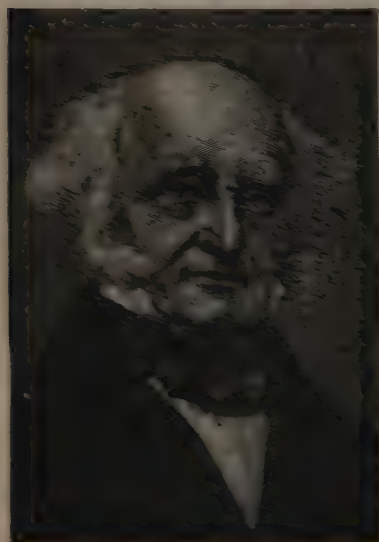
The presi-
dential con-
test of 1836.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE PANIC OF 1857

A few weeks after Van Buren was sworn into office, a terrible financial panic broke upon the country, the deadening effects of which hung over the nation to the end of Van Buren's term. The causes of the panic. Hundreds of banks and commercial houses and thousands of business men in every section of the country, finding their debts greater than they could pay, went to the wall. The mania for speculation

was the cause of the disaster, speculation in banks, in public lands, and in city real estate, speculation in everything. The risk of speculation on borrowed money, always dangerous, was especially dangerous at this time, because of the "wildcat" currency. Two acts of the government itself pricked the bubble of prosperity. First, the distribution of the surplus to the states in the summer of 1850 crippled many of the banks by drawing off from them the government deposits. Then, by a single official order, the confidence of the government in the "wildcat" notes was withdrawn when President Jackson issued the specie circular, directing the officials of the United States to accept only gold and silver in



MARTIN VAN BUREN

payment for public lands. Following this lead, the general public withdrew its confidence in the notes, and the discredited money ceased to circulate, holders of the notes sent them back to the banks in floods with demands for their redemption in coin. In their inability to redeem the notes, the banks were forced to close their doors, their depositors were ruined, and business was paralyzed. The crisis proved again that paper money, in order to be acceptable at its face value, must have actual value back of it.

The cheap and fertile lands of the frontier suddenly became more attractive than ever to the thousands of men thrown out of work in the commercial and manufacturing centers of the East; indeed to many these lands were their only hope, and multitudes took up their march to the West in search of new homes. Too poor in many cases to purchase land at even so cheap

Renewed
rush to the
western
frontier.

a rate as \$1.25 per acre, the sufferers joined in an old agitation in favor of free farms on the public domain for all who would go there and settle. They presented their petition to Congress, praying that body to pass the legislation necessary for such a use of the public lands. Congress complied grudgingly, granting the request at first only to those who would go to Florida. For another twenty-five years it clung to its refusal to devote all the public lands to free homesteads.

The old law, which allowed speculators to buy up the public lands in any amount without requiring them to cultivate their claims, was unwisely left on the statute books; but the preëmption law was passed, which guaranteed to the settlers, who ventured on the public lands before these were legally placed on the market, the first chance to take up the lands when they should be offered for sale.

Public land laws.

In the West the craze for internal improvements at the expense of the states came to an abrupt end. Several states actually went into bankruptcy. Ohio became so disgusted with her expenditures and losses that in her new constitution of 1851 she forbade the state "to contract any debt for purposes of internal improvement," and other states followed her example.

The collapse of state internal improvements.

One lesson of the crash was that the United States ought not to deposit its money in reckless private banks. A law was passed providing for the erection of a treasury building in Washington, with branches in the larger cities, in which to keep the money of the nation. This sub-treasury system, the one great measure of the Van Buren administration, was consistently opposed by all friends of the national bank, but it represents the policy followed, with some modifications, by the national government at the present time, although of late the government has again adopted the custom of depositing a part of its money with the banks. This, for various reasons, the United States can now do with more safety than in Jackson's time.

The sub-treasury system.

An unfortunate situation arose out of the fact that European capital was very heavily invested in the United States; in many parts of the country the construction of internal improvements had been entirely dependent on capital from abroad. The losses of the foreigners after the crash were heavy. Ex-President Jackson estimated in 1839 that \$200,000,000 were due from states and private corporations in the United States to creditors in Europe. When some of the bankrupt states repudiated their debts, it was largely British capital that suffered. American credit was shattered throughout the world, and in the crisis the provisions of the Con-

Foreign debts.

stitution of the United States, far from offering to the foreigners any relief, added to their difficulties, for the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, in addition to forbidding to citizens of one state the right to sue another state, laid the same prohibition on citizens of foreign states. Domestic and foreign investors alike could bring no suit against a repudiating state of the United States to force it to pay its debts, and millions of dollars' worth of these debts were never paid.

Late in 1837 an exciting event in connection with foreign relations served to distract the people's attention from the financial situation.

The Caroline affair.

A rebellion broke out in Canada against Great Britain, and citizens of the United States gave assistance to the Canadians. In putting down the uprising the Canadian authorities crossed the Niagara River to the United States, where they captured and sent over Niagara Falls the ship *Caroline*, which had been used by the rebels against them. One of the crew was killed in the encounter. To the United States, which was greatly incensed at the invasion of its neutral territory, Great Britain justified her act, just as the United States justified Jackson's invasion of Spanish Florida in 1818, on the ground that one nation, in self-defense, may invade the territory of another to abate a nuisance; but three years later the state of New York, in defiance of the protests of the British, proceeded to try for murder one McLeod, a British subject arrested in the state, who boasted that he had assisted in the destruction of the *Caroline*. The Federal government at Washington requested the state to desist, but New York refused. Fortunately the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal, and the danger of a war for redress by Great Britain was averted. The insistence of a state upon a course in foreign relations, contrary to the will of the Federal government, was cause for alarm, for although by the Constitution the conduct of foreign affairs was placed in the hands of the United States, New York's action showed that a state might do great mischief and even bring on a foreign war, which the United States would be powerless to avoid.

The panic of 1837 and the ensuing discontent cast odium on the Democratic policies of Jackson and Van Buren as responsible

The presidential campaign of 1840.

for the crisis. The Whigs took up the issue with enthusiasm, elated at the prospect of almost certain success in the next contest at the polls. President Van Buren was renominated by his party, and General Harrison was the nominee of the Whigs. While the country in desperation was struggling with its losses, Van Buren was pictured by the Whig orators as living in the White House in aristocratic magnificence, eating from plates of gold and drinking choice wines. "Tippecanoe

and Tyler too" was the song of the Whigs as they marched in great processions to their outdoor campaign meetings, or rallies, which now for the first time took a prominent place as a feature of American political life. The American people had never before participated so enthusiastically in a presidential campaign; indeed, under a restricted suffrage, they had never before had practical reasons for so doing. When nominated, Harrison was living in retirement on a farm at North Bend, Indiana, where a part of his house was actually a log cabin. The Democrats sneered at his log cabin life, but had the galling experience of seeing their opponents proudly accept the gibe, parade log cabins on wheels, with coon skins nailed to the door, and barrels of cider standing by, and with such appeals land their candidate in the White House.

The Liberty party, with James G. Birney as its candidate, on a platform which declared for the abolition of slavery in all the states, polled 7000 votes, mainly in the West. The electoral vote stood 234 for Harrison to 60 for Van Buren.

The result
at the polls.

GENERAL REFERENCES

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SPECIAL TOPICS

1. THE SPOILS SYSTEM. BASSETT, *Andrew Jackson*, II, 437-457; McMASTER, *United States*, V, 519-536; FISH, *Civil Service and Patronage*.

2. DANIEL WEBSTER AS AN ORATOR. *Epochs*, V, 158-160; LODGE, *Daniel Webster*, 117-128; HARDING, *Orations*, 212-241.

3. THE INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS. McMASTER, *United States*, VI, 250-270; E. D. ADAMS, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*; *Old South Leaflets*, VI, 130; *Epochs*, VI, 136-166; *Contemporaries*, III, 637-641; BRUCE, *Expansion*, 78-105; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 310-323.

4. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND THE ABOLITIONISTS. W. P. AND F. J. GARRISON, *William Lloyd Garrison*; McMASTER, *United States*, VI, 271-298; *Old South Leaflets*, IV, 78, 79, and 81; *Epochs*, VI, 50-76, and 167-170; H. A. HERBERT, *Abolition Crusade and its Consequences*; *Contemporaries*, III, 595-614; HARDING, *Orations*, 258-266.

5. ACTUAL CONDITIONS OF SLAVERY. HART, *Slavery and Abolition*; *Contemporaries*, III, 574-636; RHODES, *United States*, I, 303-380; F. L. OLMSTED, *Cotton Kingdom, Seaboard Slave States, and Back Country*; HARDING, *Orations*, 247-257.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

A. BARR, *Remember the Alamo*; K. MUNROE, *With Crockett and Bowie*; L. LARCOM, *A New England Girlhood*; E. EGGLESTON, *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, and *Circuit Rider*; STOWE, *Dred*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

How did the democracy of Andrew Jackson differ from that of Thomas Jefferson? State in your own words Webster's argument against states' rights. Compare Jackson's use of the soldiers of the regular army in the nullification crisis with the use of the militia by Washington and Madison. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the overthrow of the second bank of the United States? In what respects was the attitude of capital toward labor in Jackson's time paternal? Account for this paternalism. How do you account for the sudden appearance and persistence of radical abolitionism in Jackson's time? Do you condemn the abolitionists? Why, or why not? How do you account for the sudden appearance and strength of the spoils system in national politics? What connection can you point out between the extension of the suffrage and the progress of popular education? How can Jackson be held responsible for the panic of 1837? What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaign of 1832, 1836, and 1840?

b.

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PART VI

AN ERA OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND CONTINUED SECTIONAL STRIFE, 1841-1865

CHAPTER XX

THE MEXICAN ANNEXATIONS AND OTHER PHASES OF EXPANSION

DISSENSIONS IN THE WHIG PARTY

THE Whig triumph in the election of General Harrison was short-lived. One month after his inauguration the new President died, and Vice President Tyler succeeded to the office of President. Tyler had been chosen as Harrison's running mate, not as an out-and-out Whig, but as a Democrat who was opposed to Jackson and who might attract the vote of the dissatisfied element of his party. With a strong majority in both houses of Congress and with a President of their choice in the White House, the Whigs confidently passed a bill reëstablishing the old national bank, which Jackson had swept out of existence; but in one of the most faithless acts in American politics President Tyler wrote "veto" upon the bill. Hoping still to meet the President's approval, Congress passed the act in an amended form, and again "veto" was written upon it.

The succession of Vice President Tyler to power and the quarrel in the Whig party.

The incensed Whigs "read Tyler out of the party" and sought his undoing at every turn. Every member of the cabinet but one resigned. The Democrats, though highly pleased at the turn of affairs, could not receive the President into their party, and so "poor Tyler" struggled on to the end of his term with no party behind him, unable to form a party of his own and powerless to bring about any important legislation. The Whigs were partially satisfied when the President signed their bill destroying the independent sub-treasury system set up in the previous administration.

The helplessness of President Tyler.

Tyler and the Whigs also quarreled over the tariff. In accordance with the Compromise Tariff Act of 1833, the rates of tariff were to be gradually lowered till 1842, when there would be a uniform rate of twenty per cent. The Whigs now renounced this agreement and tried to force Tyler to sign a bill bringing back

The tariff of 1842.

✓
Cat

high rates. After two vetoes the President signed the act of 1842, by which the rates were materially increased.

The one Whig left in Tyler's cabinet after his alienation of the party was the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, who was engaged in negotiating with Lord Ashburton an important treaty with Great Britain, which was later ratified by the Senate of the United States. In this treaty three important points were settled. First, the present boundary line between Maine and the Dominion of Canada and the present northern line extending west from the Connecticut River to the St. Lawrence and from Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods were agreed upon. Second, the two nations bound themselves to coöperate in putting down the foreign slave trade on the coast of Africa. Third, agreements were made for the mutual giving up of fugitives from justice in certain cases.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS AND THE OCCUPATION OF OREGON

President Jackson, when his fellow-Americans in northern Mexico seized the province of Texas and set it up as an independent state, officially recognized the independence of Texas, but there he stopped, and to the insistent demands of many that the new state be annexed to the United States he gave a firm refusal. It was not because he was opposed to the annexation of territory; but Texan complications with Mexico were too recent to admit of uniting the new republic with the United States without danger of trouble with Mexico, which refused to give up her claims. Van Buren took the same position, but President Tyler, under the political necessity of finding some means of winning popular support in his struggle with the Whigs, readily grasped at the plan of making a state of the Union out of Texas.

Tyler's first Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, was at the time a strong anti-slavery man who had put himself on record in public as opposed to the annexation of Texas, but as soon as the negotiations with Great Britain over the Ashburton treaty were concluded, Webster retired from his post and was succeeded by Upshur. The new Secretary gave himself with ardor to the promotion of the cause of annexation, but he was killed on board a man-of-war by the explosion of a gun, when he had been in office hardly a year. His successor was slavery's great champion, John C. Calhoun. Both Upshur and Calhoun, to further annexation, skillfully used the fact of heavy British investments in Texas, charging that Great Britain through these means was intriguing to bring about the abolition of slavery there and possibly the formation of a British protectorate.

What time?

The Webster-Ashburton treaty.

Growth of sentiment in favor of the annexation of Texas.

The position of Tyler's three Secretaries of State.

Calhoun secured the consent of the Texans to a treaty of annexation to the United States, under the promise that the United States would give to them the protection of its army and navy in the interval between the negotiation and the ratification of the treaty.

In his message transmitting the treaty to the Senate President Tyler summed up his views on Texas in the following words: "There exists no civilized government on earth, having a volun-
 President
 Tyler's views.
 tary tender made it of a domain so rich and fertile, so replete with all that can add to national greatness and wealth, and so necessary to its peace and safety, that would reject the offer."

William Ellery Channing, a New England divine, well expressed the anti-slavery point of view in regard to Texas. "By this act slavery will be opened over regions to which it is now impossible to set limits. . . . We know that the tropical regions have been found most propitious to this pestilence; nor can we promise that its expulsion from them for a season forbids its return. . . . By this act slavery will be perpetuated in the old states as well as spread over new. It is well known that the soil of some of the old states has become exhausted by slave cultivation. Their neighborhood to communities which are flourishing under free labor, forces on them perpetual arguments for adopting this better system. They now adhere to slavery, not on account of the wealth which it extracts from the soil, but because it furnishes men and women to be sold in newly settled and more southern districts. It is by slave breeding and slave selling that these states subsist. Take away from them a foreign market, and slavery would die. Of consequence, by opening a new market, it is prolonged and invigorated. . . . As I have before intimated, and it cannot be too often repeated, we shall not only quicken the domestic slave trade; we shall give a new impulse to the foreign. . . . I ask, whether, as a people, we can stand forth in the sight of God, in the sight of the nations, and adopt this atrocious policy?"

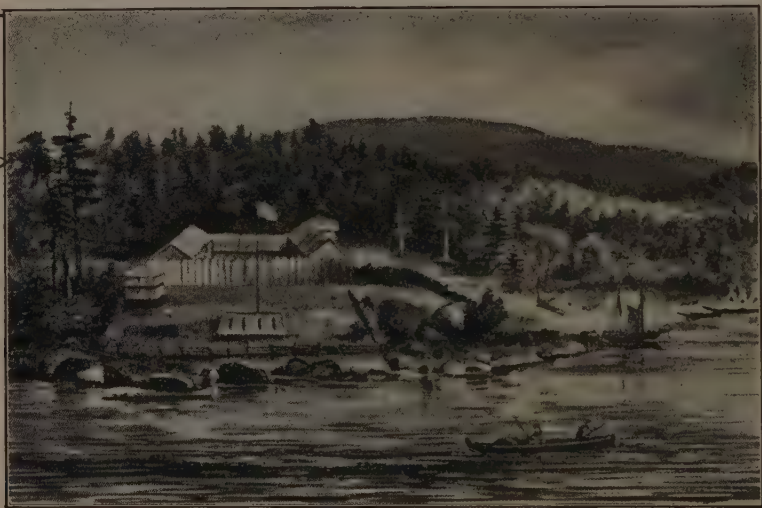
The anti-slavery position on Texas.

To the surprise of all, the Senate of the United States, usually friendly to projects of annexation, rejected the treaty by a decisive vote, probably because even the southern Democrats, who naturally desired the annexation, were not willing to bolster up the waning political fortunes of President Tyler by indorsing his pet measure. The action was a heavy blow to the hopes of the South, for the rivalry between the North and the South for new free states on the one hand and for new slave states on the other, still continued. Free Michigan had been admitted to offset the slave state of Arkansas, and free Iowa as an offset to Florida. Out of Texas several slave states might be carved.

Rejection of the annexation treaty.

While the question of Texas was agitating the country anxious eyes were turned to the northwestern country of Oregon. The United States based its claim to this region, first, on the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray in 1792; second, on the exploration of the country by Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806; third, on the existence of the fur trading post established on the Columbia River at Astoria by John Jacob

The claims
of the United
States to
Oregon.



ASTORIA IN 1813

From Franchere's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*.

Astor in 1811; fourth, on the treaty with Spain in 1819, which transferred to the United States all possible Spanish claims to the region; and fifth, on actual possession.

At the same time the British were advancing claims to Oregon, based on the exploration of the Pacific coast in these parts by Sir Francis Drake in 1579 and by Captain Cook in 1778, on the voyage of Vancouver along the same coasts in 1792, on the overland voyage of Sir Alexander Mackenzie through Canada to the Pacific, which he reached in 1793, and on the slight possession of the country by the outposts of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1818 the United States and Great Britain agreed to a joint occupation of Oregon for ten years, which was extended indefinitely in 1827, with the right reserved to either party to terminate the agreement at a year's notice.

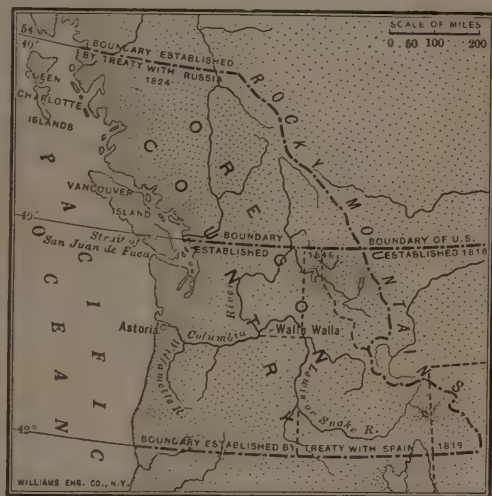
The British
claims to
Oregon.

claims now the U.S. acquired it
(By treaty)

During the progressive era of Jackson missionaries from the Eastern States reached the banks of the Columbia to teach Christianity to the native Indian tribes, and following slowly in their track came bands of settlers whom the hard times after the panic of 1837 were sending all over the West in search of homes. A handful went to Oregon from the Atlantic states in 1842,

Overland immigration to Oregon.

and over one thousand in 1843. One of the leaders in Oregon in these early days was Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who arrived there in 1836. He labored with singular devotion for the welfare of the natives; in 1842, in the interests of his mission he made a famous journey, single-handed, across the continent to Washington and Boston; and, returning, he accompanied the immigrants of 1843 across the plains and mountains



THE OREGON COUNTRY

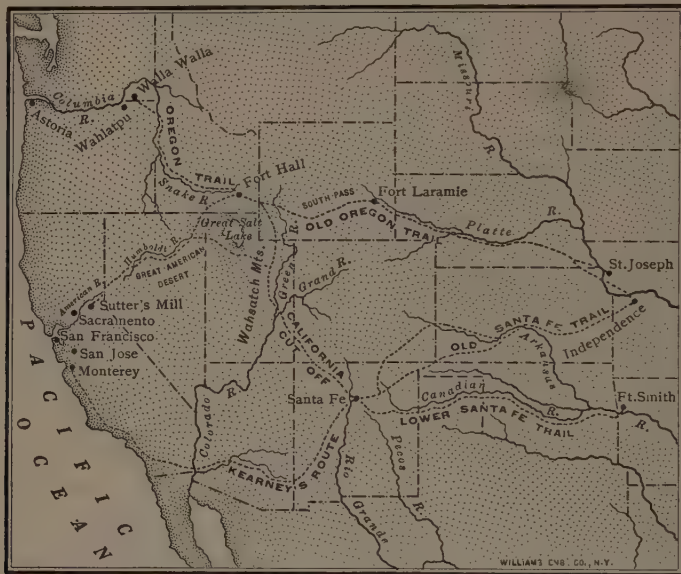
to their haven in Walla Walla. The safe arrival in the coveted territory of such a large band strengthened the claim of the United States that the region was theirs by right of possession, which in the sequel was to prove "nine points of the law."

While the Senate of the United States was wrestling over the Texas treaty and while Oregon was filling up with settlers, the presidential campaign of 1844 came on. The Democrats in their convention passed over ex-President Van Buren after a spirited contest and selected as their candidate James K. Polk of Tennessee, while the Whigs, without even considering President Tyler, almost as a matter of course named their leader, Henry Clay. As a standard-bearer Polk was the first "dark horse" in national politics, that is, the first candidate nominated without previous general discussion of his name. Clay, on the other hand, a leader in the political life of the nation for over thirty years, had already been a candidate for the presidency in two exciting con-

The presidential campaign of 1844.

George Dallas Vice Pres

tests. "Who is James K. Polk?" rose the campaign shout of the Whigs; "We will return James K. Polk to the convention that discovered him."



THE TRAILS TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA

Natural as it was to compare the two candidates, a campaign of personalities was impossible in face of the more important question of territorial expansion. Polk stood on a platform that called for "the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon" — Texas for the South and Oregon for the North. This was a bold call to expansion, a reminder that Texas had been claimed once before by the United States as a part of Louisiana but had been relinquished in the treaty with Spain in 1819, and a suggestion that Oregon belonged to the United States by right of settlement and occupation.

The unexpected rejection by the national Senate of President Tyler's Texas treaty within one week after the adjournment of the Democratic convention that called for the annexation of Texas, served to draw particular attention to this question as the leading issue. Clay started out as an opponent of annexation, and then laid himself open to the charge of being a political trimmer by a

Territorial expansion in the campaign.

Texas.

sudden shifting of position in the midst of the campaign. In an evil moment he penned the following words, which were seized upon by the Democrats as ammunition against him. "I have, however, no hesitation in saying that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it, without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other."

On election day Polk received a popular vote of 1,337,000 to 1,299,000 for Clay, and 62,000 for Birney, the candidate of the Liberty party; the electoral vote stood 170 for Polk to 105 for Clay. It was generally agreed that the "I should be glad to see it" letter, which he thought would help him in the pro-slavery South, lost Clay enough anti-slavery support in the North to cost him the 41 electoral votes of the close states of New York and Michigan; but it can hardly be said that this determined the election, for the same letter also doubtless won for Clay the 13 votes of Tennessee, which, even with New York and Michigan behind him, he could not have spared.

The result.

Although he himself had not been the standard-bearer to lead the Democrats to victory in the contest, President Tyler interpreted the result of the election as a vote of confidence in his Texas policy, and he proceeded to work for annexation with fresh zeal in the closing months of his administration. The Senate's defeat of his treaty having revealed the difficulties in the way of securing a two-thirds vote in that body in favor of annexation, the President proceeded on a new tack. With his approval, the friends of annexation, by a simple majority vote in each house of Congress, passed a joint resolution, proposing to Texas annexation to the United States. This resolution President Tyler signed March 1, 1845, three days before leaving office, and he had the personal satisfaction, while still President, of dispatching the formal offer to the Texans. Texas accepted the invitation and was admitted into the Union as a state in December, 1845, after Polk became President.

The annexation of Texas completed.

This fourth national expansion almost surely contained the germs of future strife, for Mexico had not only not yet recognized the independence of Texas, but in 1843 had declared unequivocally that the passage of any act of annexation by the Congress of the United States would be considered equivalent to a Declaration of War. When the resolution of annexation was passed, Mexico immediately broke off diplomatic relations with the United States.

Dangers connected with the annexation of Texas.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO

President Polk frankly stated to a friend at the outset of his administration that he wished to signalize his administration by the accomplishment of four great measures, the acquisition of California, the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain over Oregon, the enactment of an Independent Treasury Act, and the readjustment of the tariff. Each of these four measures he accomplished.

During the summer of his first year in office Polk sent John Slidell of Louisiana on a secret mission to Mexico to resume diplomatic relations with that country if possible. Claims for indemnity aggregating millions of dollars were held by citizens of the United States against the Mexican government, and the President hoped that he might persuade the impoverished state to pay these in land. Slidell was authorized, if Mexico would give up California, to assume the claims and pay Mexico millions to boot. He was also to attempt the peaceable settlement of the southern boundary of Texas. Diplomacy failed to achieve its object, and Slidell was forced to leave Mexico. "Be assured," wrote the ambassador to his government at home, "that nothing is to be done with these people until they shall have been chastised." Obedient to the hint, the President proceeded to "chastise" Mexico for not handing over to the United States a second rich province.

There was uncertainty as to the precise limits of the new state of Texas. Mexico claimed the Nueces River as the boundary line, but the United States decided to adopt the claim of Texas that her southern and western boundary was the Rio Grande, a line much farther to the west and south than the southern and western limits of the former Mexican state of Texas. Into the disputed area between the two rivers President Polk, as the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, without notifying Congress of his intentions, ordered General Taylor to move with his troops and stand guard. The exasperated Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande and gave fight, and the President sent a message to Congress declaring: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war. As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico

The policies of President Polk.

The Slidell mission to acquire California.

War declared on Mexico.

herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country."



MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

The ensuing war was unpopular with many of the citizens of the United States, who felt that an unfair advantage was being taken of a weak neighbor.

Two farcical battles were fought in May, 1846, in the disputed strip on the northern banks of the Rio Grande, at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which the Mexicans were defeated. Taylor then crossed the river, won two more victories at Monterey and Buena Vista, and returned to the United States. So far the struggle was mere border warfare, which might

The achievements of General Taylor.

have continued indefinitely without decisive results. It was determined to strike a blow at the heart of Mexico.

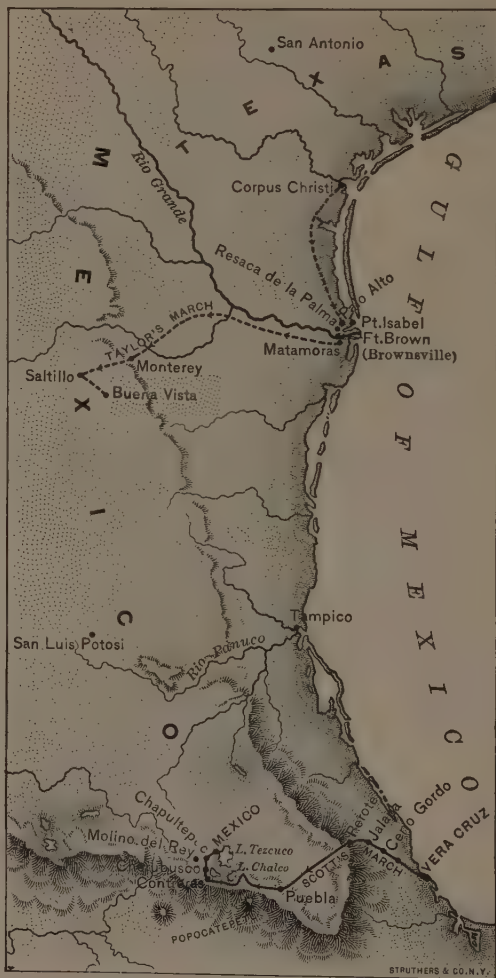
General Winfield Scott, who had won glory as a young soldier at the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane in the second war with Great Britain and was now appointed commander of the armies of the United States against Mexico, appeared on the sea before Vera Cruz on the Gulf of Mexico, and landing, began a series of victories over a stretch of two hundred miles inland to Mexico City, the capital of Mexico. He took the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo, the citadel of Cherubusco, the castle of Chapultepec, and finally the capital city itself. The fall of their capital, September 1847, but a little more than a year after the war opened, put an end to the active resistance of the Mexicans and brought the war to a close.

In the meantime a third expedition under General Kearney, with

The occupation of California. the assistance of Commodore

Stockton of the navy and General Frémont, had taken California with practically no resistance.

By the treaty of peace, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February,



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200

THE MEXICAN WAR

1848, the United States paid to Mexico \$15,000,000 and in return received the undisputed title not only to the disputed strip of land

between the Rio Grande and the Nueces but also to California, which Polk had openly coveted, and to the Mexican territory lying between California on the west and Texas on the east, which, with a small area secured later, known as the Gadsden Purchase, embraces the present states of New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and the western part of Colorado. Polk was urged to seize the whole of Mexico, but through fear of the judgment of the people against his party at the next presidential election he decided not to entertain the thought of further aggrandizement. Mexico was discharged from all claims of American citizens, while the United States agreed to pay the same to an amount not exceeding \$3,250,000. The cost of the war itself in money was from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 and in human life 10,000 men. This, the nation's sixth annexation of foreign territory, for the fifth, as we shall see, had

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.



been peaceably effected during the progress of hostilities with Mexico, was the most costly annexation up to that time.

Five years later, in 1853, the United States purchased from Mexico

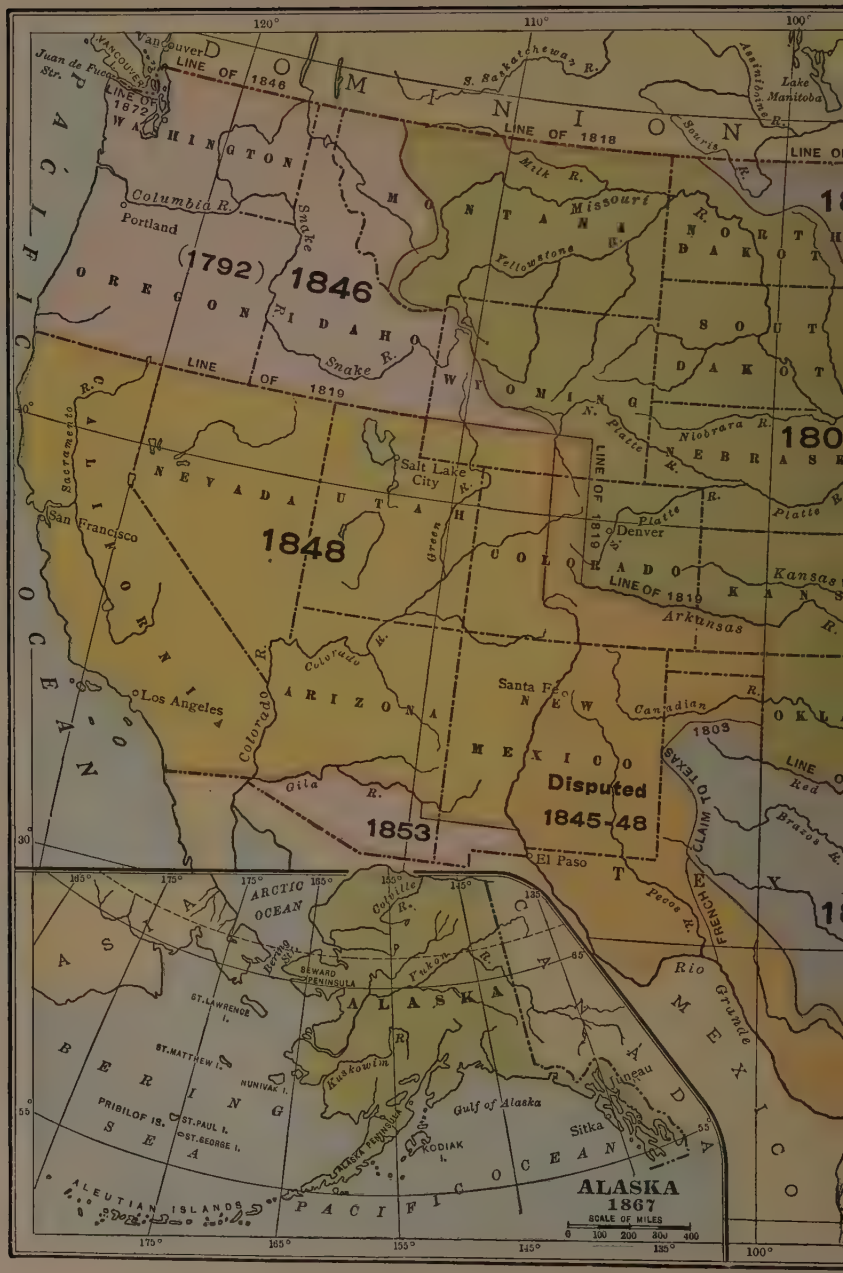
for \$10,000,000 the additional strip of 45,000 square miles, in what is now the southern part of Arizona and New Mexico, called **The Gadsden Purchase.** the Gadsden Purchase, from the name of the commissioner who carried on the negotiations.

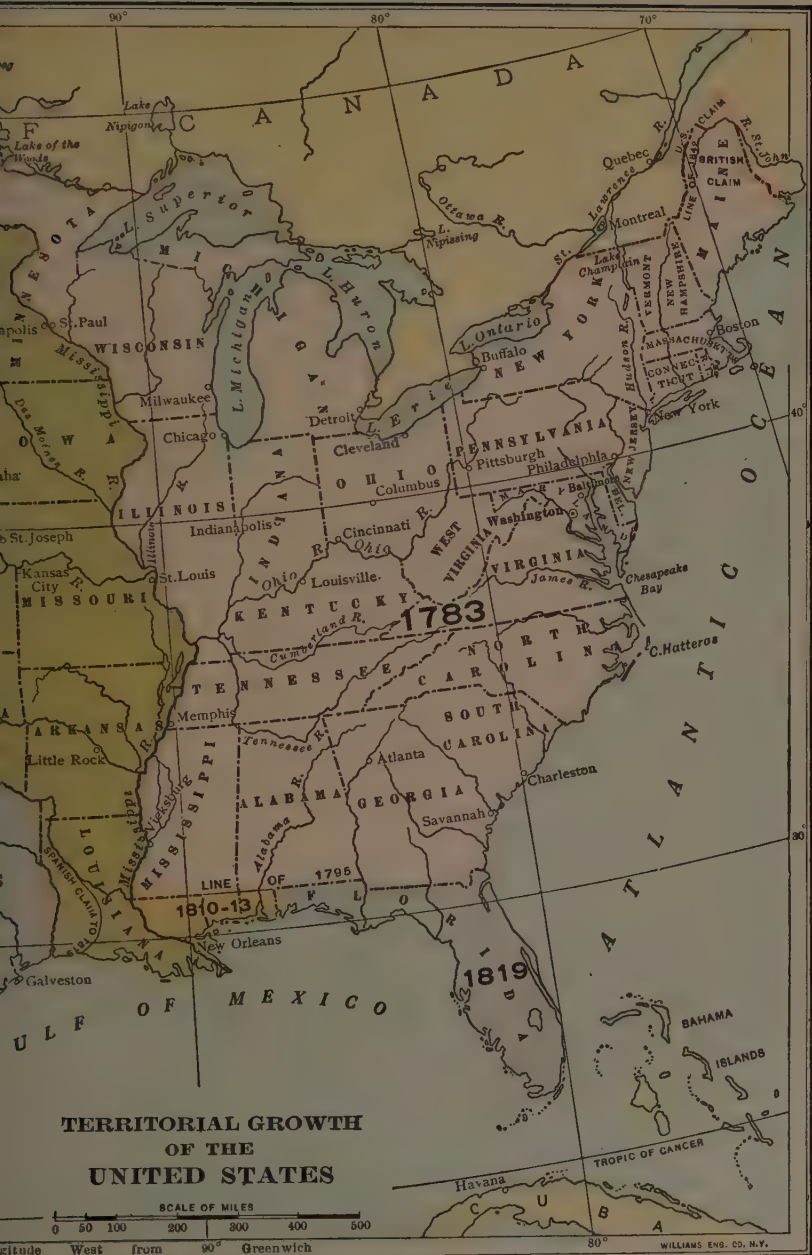
Just as President Jefferson's war with the African pirates had proved a training school for the navy and was a preparation for the second war with Great Britain, this war on the Mexicans afforded training for many a young soldier who was to participate in the coming Civil War, then not far distant. Among the future generals who now saw their first service were Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, and William T. Sherman. Just as the War of 1812 and the Indian wars on the frontier called forth two men into military prominence and later to the presidency, so two generals of the Mexican War, Taylor and Pierce, reached the same goal, and another of its leaders, General Winfield Scott, was advanced on the same road as far as the presidential nomination.

The utility of the military academy at West Point on the Hudson having been demonstrated, a similar school for the navy **The Naval Academy at Annapolis.** was set up at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1845, not, however, in time to produce naval leaders in the war against Mexico; indeed, naval leaders were little needed in that war.

THE ANNEXATION OF OREGON

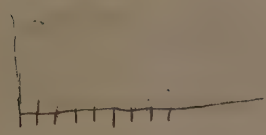
In June, 1846, one month after the beginning of the war with Mexico, the United States accomplished her fifth national expansion in the annexation of Oregon by a compromise treaty with Great Britain, whose claims to the country could not be disregarded. The northern line of the Oregon country, separating it from the Russian territory of Alaska, had been fixed at $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude by the treaty with Russia in 1824, while the southern line, bordering on the Spanish — later Mexican — territory of California, was fixed at 42° by the treaty with Spain in 1819. The eastern line was the Rocky Mountains. It was difficult to agree upon a division with the British. The United States at first demanded the whole of the Oregon country, and failing this, threatened war. "Fifty-four forty or fight" was the slogan of the Democratic national convention which had nominated Polk in 1844; but to avert a war with Great Britain when his country already had one enemy in arms against it on the south, President Polk decided on concessions. The United States gave up to the British that part of Oregon north of the parallel of 49° , the present northern boundary of the United States, and for its share took the southern part between the parallels of 49° and 42° .





Longitude West from 90° Greenwich

WILLIAMS ENG. CO. N.Y.



By the acquisition of Oregon and California an unbroken coast line was secured for over one thousand miles along the Pacific. It was charged at the time that the southern statesmen of Polk's administration played "fast and loose" with the North over Oregon, in that, while they insisted on a war to get what they wanted from Mexico, they readily consented to resign to Great Britain, without a blow, territory that seemed unfit for slavery. Yet that the Oregon question was preëminently one for compromise has been generally recognized, for there was justice in both the British and the American claims.

The compromise a natural one.

The acquisition of Texas in 1845 with 390,000 square miles, of Oregon in 1846 with 290,000 square miles, and of the Mexican cession in 1848 with 520,000 square miles, in three years brought to the United States 1,200,000 square miles of new territory. This was an area larger than either the original area of 1783, which embraced 850,000 square miles, or the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, which amounted to 875,000 square miles. Florida had added only 65,000 square miles. The total area of the United States in 1848 after the Mexican treaty was 2,970,000 square miles; and when the Gadsden Purchase was added to the area taken from Mexico, the outlines of the present continuous territory of the United States were complete.

Extensive territorial acquisitions.

THE NEW PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC

In January, 1848, a week or so before the treaty of peace with the Mexicans, but without the knowledge either of Mexico or of the United States, gold was discovered by James W. Marshall at Sutter's Mill in California, forty miles from the present city of Sacramento. The news spread like wildfire.

The discovery of gold in California.

Men rushed to the diggings from every quarter of the civilized world, but chiefly from the eastern part of the United States. So great was the excitement that from practically every town and village of the United States gold-seekers set out for California. One hundred thousand people undertook the expedition in 1849, some traveling in sailing vessels around Cape Horn, some struggling across the narrow Isthmus of Panama to ships on the Pacific, but the great majority of them making their way by wagon trains across the plains of the United States. These formed an army. "In the day their trains filled up the road for miles, and at night their campfires glittered in every direction about the places blessed by grass and water." To thousands the path over the plains proved the path of death, traced by the decaying carcasses of dead animals, by the boxes, barrels, and household goods thrown away to lighten the load, and by the hastily constructed graves.

In twelve years over \$500,000,000 worth of gold was obtained from the mines, and the little mission village of San Francisco grew to be a city of 56,000 people.



SUTTER'S MILL

The problem of how to improve communication with the new possessions pressed for immediate solution. A canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans had been the dream of centuries, from the days of Balboa and Cortes and Champlain. The Panama Congress of 1826 had considered it, De Witt Clinton, promoter of the Erie Canal, was interested in it, and Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson had ordered surveys of suitable routes.

In 1846, after the United States had secured its title to the southern part of the Oregon country, but before the title to California had been acquired, a treaty was concluded with New Granada (now Colombia) in the northwestern corner of South America, which gave to the United States "the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed." The "perfect neutrality" of the isthmus and "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory" were positively guaranteed by the United States. Private capital from the United States then set to

The project
for an ocean-
to-ocean
canal.

The right
of way
across
Panama.
The Panama
Railroad.

work to build a railroad across the isthmus. In the fever-stricken swamps of the region the death rate in the construction of the road was terrific; but seven years of work sufficed to bring it to completion at a cost of \$8,000,000, and it was at once a huge success in lightening the hardships of the Atlantic-Pacific route to California.



OLD PRAIRIE SCHOONER AND STAGE COACH OF FIRST DAYS IN THE WEST

Photograph taken of two ancient relics of early American pioneer life. Originals are at Sutter's Fort in Sacramento, California, which is maintained as a museum by the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West. The stage coach is riddled with bullets through its encounters with early outlaws and pioneer highwaymen.

In almost every step in the unfolding of the new policy of territorial expansion the United States was confronted by the active rivalry of Great Britain. This was not true, to be sure, in the negotiation of the treaty with New Granada and in the construction of the Panama Railroad; but, on the other hand, the story of the annexation of Texas, Oregon, and California constantly reveals the attempts of the British to block the government at Washington in its efforts for national expansion. They were foiled, however, in this, and hearing that the United States had successfully concluded the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with the Mexicans, a small British fleet, six days after the signing of that treaty, set out from Vera Cruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, to the coast of Nicaragua in Central America, at the mouth of the San Juan River, where it was believed that the United States was about to locate the Atlantic terminus of a Nicaraguan Canal to the Pacific. With the thousand and more miles of new coast line on the Pacific in her possession, the United States viewed with

get me an
The Clayton-Bulwer treaty. P 75
7. 1000 miles

great disfavor the obstructive tactics of her rival. A delicate crisis was at hand, which, if not handled wisely, might lead to war. The first move of the Washington authorities was the negotiation of two separate treaties with Nicaragua granting to the United States certain rights in the construction of a canal through that country. Armed with the two treaties, the United States confronted Great Britain at Nicaragua and demanded that she come to terms, else the United States would ratify one of the Nicaraguan treaties and proceed alone. The threat was successful and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain of the year 1850 was the result. It was agreed in this treaty, though with no mention of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine itself, first, that Great Britain on her part would so far recognize the principles of that Doctrine as to promise that she would never attempt to plant a colony in Central America; and second, that the United States, on her part, would temporarily waive the Doctrine so far as to associate Great Britain with herself in joint control of any canal that should be built in Nicaragua. The two nations were together to protect the projected waterway, exercise supervision over its tolls, and secure it from hostile attack. The agreement to a joint partnership covered only a canal in Nicaragua. For a canal or a railroad, either at Panama or Tehuantepec, if one should be constructed, the United States agreed with the British that sometime in the future the two powers would cover that subject in a second treaty and that such a canal or railroad should be "open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms."

It was a highly hazardous task to undertake to enforce the Monroe Doctrine in one instance by allowing it to be broken in another. Desirable as it was to force Great Britain to promise never to occupy, fortify, or colonize "Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America" and never again to assume or exercise "dominion over the same," the promise to take the rival nation into partnership in the matter of a Nicaraguan Canal, was without doubt contrary to the spirit of President Monroe's great principle. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty has generally been regarded as a grave mistake on the part of the United States, which she has tried at various times since to rectify. It was formally abrogated in 1901.

Estimate of
the Clayton-
Bulwer
treaty.

For the protection of any forthcoming canal, terminating on the Gulf of Mexico, the possession of Cuba was most desirable. The nation's diplomacy regarding Cuba before the time of President Polk had taken the form of an effort to prevent Great Britain or France from acquiring the island. Under the new

Efforts to
acquire
Cuba.

wave of expansion attending and following the Mexican War, the demand arose that the United States herself acquire "the pearl of the Antilles." In 1849 President Polk offered one hundred million dollars to Spain for the island, but the offer was scornfully rejected. Spain avowed that rather than part with the colony to the United States, she would "prefer seeing it sunk into the ocean." Active efforts to acquire Cuba continued for another decade.

As a further means of improving transportation facilities to California and Oregon, the project of a railroad across the plains and mountains of the United States to the Pacific rapidly took shape. It was hoped that such a road would enable gold-seekers to make the journey thither more easily, build up trade between the eastern cities and the Pacific, give the United States a hold on the trade of China and other Asiatic countries, and enable the government more easily to send protecting armies westward. It required over fifteen years of discussion to induce Congress to commit itself to the step, for with the Southern States demanding a Southern Pacific Railroad and the Northern States a Northern Pacific Railroad, it proved difficult to agree on a route.

A railroad
to the
Pacific.

Looking westward over the Pacific from California and Oregon, American statesmen were planning for the further extension of the Oriental trade, which had been started so auspiciously by the *Empress of China* in the days of the Confederation and still flourished, despite a temporary setback during the second war with Great Britain. Within a year and a half after the declaration of peace in 1815, forty-two "India ships" cleared from American ports for Asia, and in 1821 forty-eight were on the seas from Salem, Massachusetts, alone. The country's oldtime supremacy in the commerce of the Atlantic was by this time on the decline, but in the development of the Chinese trade of the Pacific, after forty years of effort, American ships were in the ascendancy over their British, Dutch, and Portuguese rivals. The chief products carried to Canton were opium, ginseng, quicksilver, lead, iron, copper, furs, and broadcloths; and the chief products imported from thence were tea, silk, camphor, rhubarb, sugar, and chinaware.

Closer trade
relations
with China.

The article of the outside world most desired by the Chinese was opium; but sensible of the effects of this terrible drug on the human system, the government of China finally put a ban on the opium trade, confiscated all the opium stored within her territory, and forbade its further importation. From a financial point of view those to suffer most from the restriction were British subjects, who had been in the habit of exporting opium

The opening
up of
China.

from India to China in large quantities. Although the war which Great Britain waged, 1840-1842, to continue the unholy trade with China was a blot on British history, beneficial commercial results in other respects followed both to China and to the rest of the world. In the treaty of peace terminating the war China so far broke down her walls of exclusion as to open up five of her ports to British trade. The next year the United States sent a large squadron to China and secured the same concessions. China as a whole, however, remained a closed nation till 1858, when by treaties with Russia, Great Britain, France, and the United States, she threw open a large number of her ports to the trade of the citizens of these countries and gave them the right of access to her government, the right to reside in Peking, to enjoy religious toleration and to send diplomatic representatives to China, and certain other privileges.

At the same time western civilization was knocking at the doors of isolated Japan. After a special messenger to the Japanese Emperor had been repulsed in 1846, all the world looked on with interest when Commodore Matthew C. Perry, brother of Commodore Oliver H. Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, sailed in 1852 to Japan at the head of a squadron of eleven vessels. The mission was one of peaceful persuasion and diplomacy, not one of war. Perry was a diplomat of rare powers, firm, wise, dignified, and patient, and he succeeded in securing from the Japanese in 1854 a treaty which threw open two of her ports to trade with the United States. Within a year similar treaties were secured from Japan by Great Britain, Russia, Holland, and other nations. Among the gifts of the Americans to the Japanese, on the occasion of the signing of the memorable Perry treaty, were rifles, muskets, swords, a telescope, two telegraphic instruments, a locomotive with tender, a passenger coach, railroad rails, four volumes of Audubon's "Birds of America," eight baskets of potatoes, and numerous agricultural implements. The locomotive and telegraphic instruments were set up on the shore and operated by the Americans, to the great amazement of the Japanese. The Japanese presented the visitors with rice, three hundred chickens, paper boxes, pieces of pongee, crêpe, and silk, twenty umbrellas, and thirteen dolls. In 1858 Japan was further opened up to foreign trade by new treaties, first with the United States, and then with Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The Sandwich, or Hawaiian Islands, discovered by the Englishman, Captain Cook, in 1778, assumed importance as a halfway station in the Pacific as soon as American ships began their trips to China and Japan. Captain Gray in the *Columbia*, and the other early merchantmen from the Oregon

The opening
up of
Japan.

The recog-
nition of the
independence
of Hawaii.

country, and, after the War of 1812, hundreds of American whalers in the North Pacific, habitually stopped there. Later in the nineteenth century, on more than one occasion, the United States protected the islands from seizure by European powers, and in 1843, along with Great Britain and France, recognized their independence. American missionaries reached the islands as early as 1819, and rapidly transformed the life and customs of the natives. B

Richard H. Dana, who visited Hawaii in 1860, paid the following tribute to the labors of these pioneer Americans. "It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board Progress of Hawaii. that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and write, to cipher and sew. They have given them an alphabet, grammar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion, science, entertainment, etc. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now the proportion of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England; and whereas they found these islanders a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannized over by feudal chiefs, and abandoned to sensuality, they now see them decently clothed, recognizing the laws of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people at home."

THE TREASURY AND THE TARIFF

The third part of Polk's programme, in addition to the acquisition of California and of Oregon, was the reestablishment of the independent treasury, first set up by the Democrats under Van Buren and destroyed by the Whigs under Tyler. The sub-treasury system. *Established* The Democrats under Polk succeeded in restoring the system, and it remains to-day an essential feature of the national financial machinery.

The fourth part of Polk's plan for his administration, the readjustment of the tariff, was accomplished by the Walker Tariff Act of 1846, so-called because in its enactment Congress was largely guided by the advice of Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker. Although, to secure his election, Polk had led the people of Pennsylvania, where the iron and coal interests demanded protection, to believe that he stood for high tariff rates, he accepted the low rates of the new law. The Walker tariff of 1846. ✓ This tariff remained on the statute books for a period of eleven years.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Would it have been wise for President Tyler to dismiss the cabinet of ex-President Harrison at once and secure an entirely new one of his own appointment? On what ground can you condemn President Tyler's stand toward Whig measures? Distinguish between the remote and the immediate causes of the Mexican War. Was the attitude of the United States in this war contrary to the Monroe Doctrine? What was the influence of the discovery of gold in California on the problems of transportation in the United States? Why has the Clayton-Bulwer treaty been called a diplomatic mistake? Why were the slave-holding statesmen generally in favor of territorial expansion? Account for the traditional friendship of the United States for China and Japan. What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaign of 1844?

CHAPTER XXI

THE QUARREL OVER SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

PRESIDENT POLK's annexation policy raised again the question of what to do with slavery in the territories, after the Missouri Compromise had succeeded in keeping a degree of peace on the subject for twenty-five years. Texas was naturally admitted as a slave state, since slavery existed within her borders while she was an independent republic. The dispute over the question, as it concerned the lands to be acquired from Mexico, arose in Congress almost as soon as hostilities had begun with that country. David Wilmot precipitated the debate in 1846, by proposing in the House of Representatives to add to a bill appropriating money to defray the expenses of making peace an amendment or proviso, to the effect that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" should ever exist in any part of the territory to be gained from Mexico by the war. The proviso evoked wide public discussion, but although it passed the House of Representatives, it failed in the Senate, where the slave states were in a majority after the annexation of Texas.

The Wilmot
Proviso.

Another proposal for congressional action was that Congress should run the Missouri Compromise line across the Mexican lands to the Pacific and exclude slavery north of that line in the new territory as well as in the Louisiana country. The principle of congressional action in any form was rejected by Calhoun, who contended that slavery must be allowed to enter the territories with the Constitution, because slaves were property, and ownership of property was guaranteed to all wherever the Constitution was in force. Congress could come to no decision, and in the annexation treaty with Mexico the question was left unsettled.

Two other
proposed
solutions for
the problem
of slavery in
the terri-
tories.

The more northern country of Oregon, where slavery naturally would not thrive, was not coveted by the pro-slavery faction with such ardor as were the Mexican lands, and after some debate Oregon was organized as a territory in 1848 with slavery excluded.

Oregon de-
voted to
freedom.

The presidential campaign of 1848, which was the second presidential contest fought out on the slavery issue, served to bring into prominence still another proposed solution of the problem of territorial slavery. The Democratic party placed at the head of its ticket a "northern man with southern principles," Lewis Cass of Michigan, who had a creditable political record. He had served as the governor of the territory of Michigan, as Secretary of War under Jackson, and later as minister to France. Casting aside not only the principle of congressional restriction of slavery in the territories, involved in the Wilmot Proviso and in the Missouri Compromise, but also Calhoun's theory that slavery went into the territories with the Constitution, Cass led his party in an attempt to please both sides, by favoring "squatter sovereignty," or "popular sovereignty" on the question. By his plan the people in the territories were to be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not slavery should exist in their midst.

"Squatter sovereignty" and the presidential campaign of the Democrats in 1848.

The Whigs, without a positive declaration on the question, named as their leader General Taylor of Louisiana of Mexican War fame, who may be characterized by way of contrast to Cass as a "southern man with northern principles." A rough soldier, strictly trained to his profession, Taylor knew little of the refinements of life or of the principles and arts of politics. He was a slaveholder, but he had never manifested any interest in the extension of slavery.

The Whigs in the campaign.

The Free Soil party, composed largely of the remnants of the old Liberty party, inscribed on their banners, "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men," and indorsed as their candidate ex-President Van Buren, who had already been nominated by the "Barn-Burners," a dissenting Democratic faction in New York. The Free Soilers rejected the vague and compromising stand of the two larger parties which were endeavoring to please both sides, and openly favored the principles of the Wilmot Proviso; but they refused to take the radical stand of the Liberty party, which had aimed to abolish slavery in the states and territories alike.

The Free-soilers.

Taylor was elected by a vote of 163 to 127 in the electoral colleges.

The result.

When the first Congress of the Taylor administration came together in December, 1849, the country was surprised to learn that California's decision against slavery. California, with 90,000 settlers, too impatient to await organization as a territory and waiving the formality of the "enabling act," usually passed by Congress to authorize a territory to prepare for statehood, had organized a state govern-

ment, framed a constitution, and was applying to Congress for immediate statehood. Taking no counsel of the national lawmakers, who were struggling to find a solution of the question of territorial slavery, California had calmly settled the matter, so far as she herself was concerned, by inserting in her constitution a clause forbidding slavery. The explanation of this decided stand was not far to seek. Rough mining camps, where sanitary conditions were anything but wholesome, where property rights were insecure and even human life unsafe, were not attractive places for the slaveholders with their valuable slave property; and the long journey across the continent was so full of perils that few attempted it with their slaves. Moreover, the soil of California was not suited to cotton-raising, and mining operations required more skill than slaves possessed. Consequently there were too few slaveholders in California to vote slavery into the new constitution.

The old champions, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, came forward and wrangled in Congress for the last time. It was much like the debate on the question of slavery in the territories in 1820 over again, though the new discussion referred to slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico, while that of 1820 concerned slavery in the Louisiana country.

The great
debate in
Congress.

As in the crises of 1820 and of 1832, a compromise was proposed to please all sides and save the Union. Henry Clay, now called "The Great Pacificator," was the author of the Compromise of 1850. The preamble of the resolutions which he offered in the Senate declared their purpose to be "the peace, concord and harmony of the Union of these states, to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable and just basis." Speaking to his fellow-senators, Clay said: "Coming from a slave state, as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to say that no earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed. . . . Sir, while you reproach, and justly too, our British ancestors for the introduction of this institution upon the continent of America, I am, for one, unwilling that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and New Mexico shall reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us." He asked his southern friends to give up their bitterness, pointing out to them that their section had made great gains in the recent acquisitions. He would have the North, on its part, forego its efforts to forbid territorial slavery. Referring to the threat of the dissatisfied Southern States

Henry
Clay's plan of
compromise.

to secede from the Union, he denied the right of a state to withdraw from the Union, and maintained that secession meant war. "War and dissolution of the Union are identical terms," he exclaimed.

His compromise or "Omnibus Bill" embraced five points: first, as a concession to the anti-slavery North, the admission of California as a free state; second, as a concession to the pro-slavery South, the enactment of a strict fugitive slave law, to enable the Southerners the better to catch their runaway slaves in the North; third, the organization of the eastern part of the new possessions into two territories to be known as Utah and New Mexico, each somewhat larger than the present states bearing these names, without specifically deciding the slavery question one way or the other; fourth, the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and fifth, the payment to Texas of \$10,000,000 for giving up to the United States her claim to a certain part of what is now New Mexico.

Too weak to speak for himself, Calhoun was carried into the Senate Chamber, where he sat helpless while a colleague read his last message to the American people. In another month his voice was silent forever. He declared that the Union was in danger, and that for this serious state of affairs there were two leading reasons. One of these was the continued agitation of the slavery question in general on the part of the northern people, and the other was the aggression of the North in proposing to disturb the equilibrium of the two sections and make the new territories free soil. If she succeeded in her purpose of excluding slavery from the new territories, three-fourths of the more than two million square miles of territory acquired by the United States since 1783 would be free. "Unless something decisive is done, I again ask, what is to stop this agitation, before the great and final object at which it aims — the abolition of slavery in the states — is consummated? Is it, then, not certain, that if something decisive is not now done to arrest it, the South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession?" He was opposed to all compromise, and demanded that the North cease her agitation, return all fugitive slaves, and agree to open the territories to slavery. This was in general the position of the slavery element in Congress.

Webster favored the compromise. Back in the thirties, when the agitation over the admission of Texas into the Union was beginning to disturb the peace of the country, he, with many other northern leaders, had denounced slavery as "a great social, moral, and political evil." Now in his famous Seventh-of-March speech he took the middle way. He held that slavery was

The "Omni-
bus Bill."

Calhoun
opposes
compromise.

Webster
favors
compromise.

already excluded from California and New Mexico by their very physical characteristics. "I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature," he declared, "nor to reenact the will of God. And I would put in no Wilmot Proviso, for the purpose of a taunt or a reproach." He defended the principle of the Fugitive Slave Law and denounced the abolitionists, whose "operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable." On the other hand, he entreated the Southerners to dismiss the thought of secession, with its attending indescribable horrors of civil war. "Secession! Peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. . . . No, sir! no, sir! I will not state what might produce the disruption of the states; but, sir, I see it as plainly as I see the sun in heaven — I see that disruption must produce such a war as I will not describe."

The anti-slavery North viewed with consternation the seeming defection of their one-time leader. Webster's "apostasy."

"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!
Reville him not — the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall."

Thus the poet Whittier voiced the anti-slavery view of Webster's advocacy of Clay's compromise bill. It was generally believed that the orator was seeking support in the South for the next presidential election, but a more charitable view is that in his love of union, which he despaired of without compromise, he was ready to sacrifice even a point of morals.

William H. Seward, ex-Governor of New York and the new Senator from that state, who was destined to succeed to Webster's position as the leader of political anti-slavery, gave utterance to a bold phrase that later became a watchword in the anti-slavery crusade. In a strong speech against compromise, he said, "There is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain." This happy recognition of a "higher law" served to crystallize anti-slavery sentiment, and exercised great influence in the coming decade.

Seward
opposes
compromise.

After more than nine months of struggle, in one of the longest ses-

sions on record, Congress passed Clay's proposals in four separate acts and adjourned. Two months before the end a tragic event temporarily suspended proceedings and probably influenced the final outcome. President Taylor, the straightforward old soldier, a man of direct methods rather than of compromise, who was under the influence of Seward and was supposed to incline toward the views of anti-slavery, suddenly died. Vice President Fillmore of New York, who succeeded to the presidency, favored the compromise, and readily signed the various acts.

One of the features of the Compromise of 1850 most objectionable to Northerners

The Fugitive Slave Law.

was the Fugitive Slave Law. This enactment was placed on the statute books in order to remedy, if possible, the defects of an old law on the subject passed in 1793, the enforcement of which depended in part on state officials. After the

Supreme Court had intimated in 1842 that the states had the power to prohibit their officials from performing duties imposed on them by a national law, the states, in so-called Personal Liberty Laws, began to prohibit their officials from assisting in carrying out the provisions of the national Fugitive Slave Law. The new Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 provided for enforcement by United States officials. A slaveholder, appearing in the North to find an escaped slave, could now avail himself of the aid of United States commissioners, appointed by United States Circuit courts, who were empowered to summon to their aid all bystanders in making the arrest. To give aid to the fugitive, in resistance to the officers of the law, was to be punishable by a fine of \$1000 or six months' imprisonment. There could be no *habeas corpus* for the fugitive black, no trial by jury, no examination of witnesses, and no appeal from the decision of the commissioner to a higher court. To prove his property the slaveholder's own word or that of his agent was sufficient, while the negro was not allowed to testify in his own behalf. Such a sweeping denial to slaves of the common



WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Anglo-Saxon liberty rights was customary in the laws of the slave states, but the North objected to such a denial for the nation at large.

Exciting arrests and thrilling rescues startled the country. A northern leader publicly declared, "I have no more hesitation in helping a fugitive slave than I have in snatching a lamb from the jaws of a wolf, or of disengaging an infant from the talons of an eagle." The sentiment was widespread, and in the face of it the law was of little avail and arrests few in number. By stealthy means, popularly known as the Underground Railroad, adopted by the friends of the slaves to outwit the law, hundreds of blacks every year succeeded in making their way north, chiefly through Ohio and Pennsylvania, into free Canada; and from year to year their friends in the North grew in number. In the light of results it appears that the Southerners would have done better for the cause of slavery if they had never demanded the new law, for the steady loss of friends which went on in the North under the law's operation was ultimately a far greater detriment to their cause than any that would have been involved in the immediate loss of a few thousand dollars' worth of property each year; but this was naturally not foreseen at the time.

**Evasions of
the Fugitive
Slave Law.**

The partisans of slavery were further exasperated by the passage in many northern states of more Personal Liberty Laws, which sought to put legal obstacles in the way of enforcement of the new Fugitive Slave Law. Under another name these were the most practical nullification laws ever enacted by states against the laws of the United States. Vermont denied the use of her jails to the southern masters for the temporary detention of recaptured fugitives, required the attorney general of the state to defend the fugitives in the courts, and guaranteed to the latter the right of trial by jury. Slaves carried into the state were declared to be free, and to take a fugitive out of the state was strictly forbidden.

**More Per-
sonal Lib-
erty Laws in
the Northern
States.**

Harriet Beecher Stowe was stirred by the stories of captures and escapes that filled every part of the land. One Sunday morning, at the communion table of a little church in Brunswick, Maine, the seat of Bowdoin College, where her husband was a professor, she was suddenly overcome by a vision of the cruelties of slavery, and with tears and sobs hastened home to write out that part of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" which concerns the death of Uncle Tom. When she read the description to her little son he burst out sobbing and cried, "Oh, Mamma, slavery is the most cursed thing in the world!" Springing from a deeply religious nature, the book discussed the moral

**"Uncle
Tom's
Cabin."**

aspects of slavery from the anti-slavery point of view. It was wholly one-sided, but it proved to be a powerful agent in arousing in the youth of the land sympathy for the slaves. One hundred thousand copies of it were sold in a few weeks, and over three hundred thousand copies in the first year, 1852; eight powerful printing presses running day and night were barely able to keep up with the popular demand. It is not an exaggeration to say that no other printed book ever agitated the American public as did this one. Its influence was especially strong on the youth of the land, who were to become voters in the next decade.

When the Whigs assembled in their national convention of 1852 the founder of their party lay dying. Clay lived to approve the work of the convention, but died before the election. As an orator, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senator, and Secretary of State, he was one of the greatest political leaders of the nation. Three times he was the candidate of his party for the presidency and as many times he was defeated. His political judgment was occasionally faulty, as his untimely introduction of the bank question into the campaign of 1832 and the letters on Texas in 1844 tend to show. He did not possess great intellect and he was not highly educated, but his versatility was extraordinary, and he enjoyed to a remarkable degree the ability to win the love and devotion of his followers.

One of Clay's last public acts was to join with forty-three other members of Congress in signing the following pledge: "The undersigned, members of the thirty-first Congress of the United States, believing that renewal of sectional controversy on the subject of slavery would be both dangerous to the Union and destructive of its objects, and seeing no mode by which such controversy can be avoided except by a strict adherence to the settlement thereof effected by the Compromise Acts passed at the last session of Congress, do hereby declare their intention to maintain the said settlement inviolate and to resist all attempts to repeal or to alter the acts aforesaid, unless by general consent of the friends of the measure, and to remedy such evils, if any, as time and experience may develop." Then followed the further pledge to support no candidate for office known to be opposed to the compromise measures or to be desirous of renewing the slavery controversy in any form.

Daniel Webster, who was associated with Clay in public life for almost forty years, died a few months later. He never received the honor of a presidential nomination at the hands of a great party, though fourteen electoral votes were cast for him in 1836. He was not a man to inspire a warm personal fol-

**The death
of Clay.**

**Determina-
tion to keep
the Com-
promise.**

**The death of
Webster.**

lowing; his claim to greatness lay rather in his success as a constitutional lawyer, as an efficient Senator and Secretary of State, and in his wonderful ability as an orator.

Passing over Webster, who sought the prize of a presidential nomination even at the very end of his career, the Whigs for a third time gave their nomination to a military chieftain, General Winfield Scott, the conqueror of Mexico; the Democrats, after a long struggle in their convention, named General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and the Free Soilers Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire. Both the Whigs and the Democrats ardently proclaimed the sacredness of the Compromise of 1850, but with the odium of the Fugitive Slave Law resting heavily upon them the Whigs met an overwhelming defeat. Pierce received 254 electoral votes to 42 for Scott. Said a wit of the time with truth, "Here lies the Whig party, which died of an effort to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law." It was unfortunate for the Whigs that their President was in office when that ill-fated bill came from the capitol for executive approval, for few Presidents in the crisis would have refused their signature; and it was unfortunate that on the two occasions when they succeeded in placing their candidate in the White House he soon died. Misfortune attended the party of Clay and Webster throughout its history. New phases of the slavery question swept the Republican party into existence in 1854, and in the presidential election of 1856 the Whigs waged their last contest.

The presidential campaign of 1852.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

Franklin Pierce was another dark horse in national politics, without distinction as a statesman or as a lawyer and with very little as a soldier. While pushing their party candidate, General Scott, the Whigs published a campaign book of a half dozen pages, one inch by one-half inch in size, printed in diminutive type and inscribed, "The Military Services of General Franklin Pierce." Pierce was an amiable gentleman of fine manners, who made many friends, but he was devoid of most of the qualities of statesmanship.

Franklin Pierce.

The new leaders, who came to the front after the death of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, could not be expected to stand by the compromises of their predecessors. They had not felt the nationalizing influences of the War of 1812, but had been bred in the succeeding period of sectional strife. Within a year after the inauguration of President Pierce, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who had not signed Clay's pledge of silence on the subject of slavery, proposed a law in the Senate of the United States

Squatter sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska.

which would set aside the Missouri Compromise of 1820 as a method of dealing with slavery in that part of the Louisiana Territory not yet admitted to statehood, and would place the stamp of approval on Cass's doctrine of popular sovereignty. In the Northern States, where it was supposed that the law of 1820, which had regulated the subject of slavery in the Louisiana Territory for more than thirty years, was forever fixed, Douglas's proposal aroused a storm of protest.

The restless frontiersmen of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri were now desiring to settle in the Louisiana lands beyond the Missouri,

**The essence
of the new
law.**

and it was in their interest, Douglas claimed, that he proposed the new law. Utah and New Mexico, that is, all the Mexican cession outside of California, had already been organized as territories, and by the terms of the Compromise of 1850 the people in the two territories were left free to decide the slavery question within their borders as they thought best. Douglas's plan was to throw open to settlement in the same way the northern or free portion of the Louisiana country by organizing it into two territories, Kansas in the south and Nebraska in the north, and to allow the settlers therein to exercise the right of popular sovereignty on the question of slavery in their midst. The Missouri Compromise, which had declared the same territory free soil, was expressly declared "inoperative and void." Kansas was expected to develop into a slave territory and Nebraska into free soil. To the self-reliant Americans of the frontier, who from the early days had always preferred to decide matters for themselves and to do things in their own way, the idea of making their own decision on slavery in their midst was decidedly popular. The proposition, however, meant giving slavery another chance to secure a foothold in territory already devoted to freedom; freedom had nothing to gain and everything to lose by the proposal, slavery nothing to lose and everything to gain. Probably no measure in Congress was ever more bitterly debated than was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, but it passed both houses of Congress and was signed by the President, May 30, 1854.

Every new political party springs from among those who have a political grievance and who despair of improvement under the existing parties. The Democratic-Republican party was made up

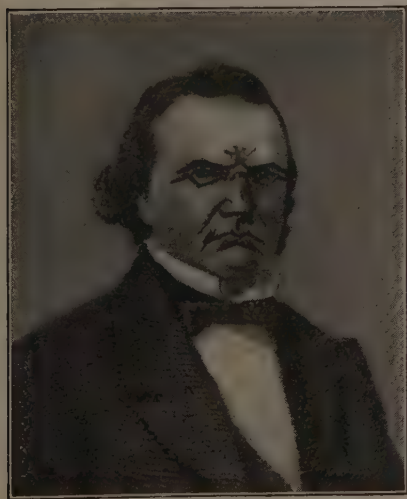
**The origin of
the Repub-
lican party.**

of those who disapproved of the way in which the Federalists were administering the government under Washington, and the Whigs embraced those who were opposed to Jackson and his policies. The present Republican party now came into existence on the single principle of opposition to allowing slavery another opportunity to enter the territories. There were Free Soilers

in the new organization, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Anti-Slavery or Conscience Whigs, all united on the proposition that the Compromise of 1820 should be kept sacred and that slavery should not be allowed to spread to territories once made free. The Republicans believed that Congress and not the people of the territories should decide such a question, and that the settlement of the question in 1820 should remain fixed.

The name Republican for the new party was suggested at an anti-slavery meeting at Ripon, Wisconsin, while the Kansas-Nebraska Act was still before Congress, and was adopted for the first time by a state convention at Jackson, Michigan, in July, shortly after the bill became a law. This convention in Michigan may be looked upon as the birthplace of the

The rapid growth of the new party.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

Republican party, and it is significant of the growing political influence of the West that the new party struck its roots first in that section. Other states rapidly followed Michigan, and in 1855 a call was issued for the first national convention of the party to meet in Pittsburg, February 22, 1856. So strong was the movement that in Congress, 1855-1857, there were 117 Representatives and 11 Senators pledged to oppose slavery in the territories.

Stephen A. Douglas, who had precipitated the crisis, was born in Vermont in 1813, and at the age of twenty had migrated to Illinois, where he became a dis-

Stephen A. Douglas and his motives.

trict attorney two years after his arrival. At twenty-five he was in the state legislature by the side of Abraham Lincoln, at twenty-eight he was a justice of the supreme court of the state; at thirty a member of the national House of Representatives from Illinois, and at thirty-five a United States Senator from the same state. He was a man of great ambition and energy, and of unquestioned ability as a speaker and political leader. After the disappearance of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, Douglas was the most prominent figure in national politics down to 1860. The belief was prevalent that he took the bold

step of disturbing the Missouri Compromise in order that he might win the presidential nomination at the hands of his party in 1856. It was the opportunity for a master politician. His measure was sure to win popularity in the slave-holding states, and from its local option features might be expected to prove attractive in other sections, especially in the West. It was also perfectly constitutional, for the Missouri Compromise, like any other law of Congress, was subject to repeal by the body that enacted it.

The impracticability of the Kansas-Nebraska Act became apparent almost as soon as it was passed. The champions of slavery from the South and the champions of freedom from the North rushed out to the plains of Kansas, each side seeking to get there first and under popular sovereignty organize the territorial government in its own interests, for slavery or for freedom, before the other side could arrive. The law was an invitation to the champions to come to the frontier and fight it out; and fight they did.

The practical working of squatter sovereignty in Kansas.

Under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Society several thousand partisans of freedom arrived in Kansas before the end of the summer of 1854 and founded Topeka, Lawrence, and other towns on the rich bottom lands of the Kansas River. The pro-slavery immigrants from Missouri founded Atchison, Lecompton, and Leavenworth at about the same time. On the occasion of the first election in the new territory early in 1855 several thousand Missouri "border ruffians" crossed the line into Kansas, stuffed the ballot boxes, and succeeded in electing a pro-slavery legislature, which later sent a duly accredited pro-slavery delegate to Congress. The opponents of slavery repudiated these acts and sent one of their number to represent them in Congress as the delegate of the territory, while they proceeded to organize a government of their own. The lovers of liberty in Kansas, like the lovers of liberty in California, called a constitutional convention without the permission of Congress, and in that body, which assembled at Topeka, they framed a free constitution, later ratified it at the polls, and under it sought admission into the Union as a free state; they even went so far as to elect a governor of their own, to serve after Kansas should become a state. Under orders from President Pierce United States troops dispersed this "impertinent" Topeka government, and its leaders were indicted for treason. Kansas was torn between the supporters of the "free state" government and those of the opposing government backed by the President.

The failure of the plan.

The nation entered the presidential year of 1856 with its attention

focused on "bleeding Kansas." The first two months of the year were marked by a bitter struggle in the national House of Representatives between the hosts of freedom and of slavery over the election of a Speaker for that body. Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, an opponent of the extension of slavery into the territories, was elected by a close vote. On the twentieth of May, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts made a powerful speech in the Senate on "The Crime against Kansas," in which he defended the free state government there and poured vials of contempt on the slaveholders and their methods in Kansas. Senator Butler of South Carolina was especially scored. It was a speech which for its bitterness might have called forth the condemnation of the fair-minded of all sections, but for the cruel chastisement that followed. Two days after the delivery of the speech, while he was sitting at his desk in the Senate Chamber after that body had adjourned, Sumner was struck down and almost beaten to death by Brooks of South Carolina, a member of the House of Representatives and a relative of Butler. On the day intervening between the speech and the assault, the Missourians in Kansas tried to wipe out the free state capital at Lawrence, and destroyed the public buildings, the hotel, the printing presses, and some of the private dwellings; and three days after the sack of Lawrence, on May 24, that crime was avenged by John Brown and a small band of anti-slavery followers, who in a single night dragged six slavery sympathizers from their cabins at Osawatimie on the Pottawatomie in Kansas and butchered them in cold blood. Brown was "of the Puritan stock, a Cromwellian, who believed in God and at the same time in 'keeping his powder dry.' He believed in 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' and acted accordingly." These outrages of civil war perpetrated on both sides showed plainly that popular sovereignty had brought to Kansas not the peace which Douglas had predicted, but the sword.

The national House of Representatives sent a committee of investigation to the scene of strife, and its proceedings served to keep the popular interest in Kansas at a high pitch throughout the presidential campaign.

The congressional investigation in Kansas.

With "bleeding Kansas" as the one absorbing theme and with a new party of unknown but rapidly growing strength in the field, drawing a majority of the Whigs into its ranks, the national contest was bound to be a stirring one. The Republicans, adjourning from their preliminary convention in Pittsburg, met later in Philadelphia to write their first platform of principles and to name their first standard-bearer.

The presidential campaign of 1856. The Republican nomination.

What killed the whig party.

They condemned the administration for the outcome of popular sovereignty in Kansas and denounced slavery as a "relic of barbarism." They passed over William H. Seward, the real leader of the party, who was too prominent and had made too many enemies by his bold course to be a successful candidate, and gave the first place on their ticket to John C. Frémont of California, who was popularly known as the "Pathfinder" because of four expeditions which he had made across the continent to California and to Oregon in the forties under the auspices of the national government.

Douglas, the real leader of the Democrats, was likewise passed over by his party because of the storm of disapproval called forth by the failure of his doctrine in Kansas. President Pierce, whose fate recalls that of Fillmore in 1850, could not be renominated with any hope of election, because he had signed the Kansas-Nebraska measure. William L. Marcy, the Secretary of State, was a possible candidate, but after a spirited contest in the convention the nomination fell to James Buchanan, minister to Great Britain, who had been absent from the country when the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed and therefore had taken no part in the exciting national politics between 1854 and 1856. A small third party, called the Know-Nothings, organized to oppose the growing foreign element in the country, joined with the remnant of the Whigs in support of ex-President Fillmore.

The Southerners threatened to secede from the Union if the "Black Republicans," so-called in derision from their devotion to the interests

of the negroes, succeeded in electing their candidate.

The result. Buchanan secured a popular vote of 1,838,000 and 174 votes in the electoral colleges, to 1,340,000 popular votes and 114 electoral votes for Frémont. Since 1840 the showing of the anti-slavery element, as it entered into national politics, had been 7000 votes in 1840, 62,000 in 1844, 290,000 in 1848, 156,000 in 1852, and 1,340,000 in 1856.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

The political career of James Buchanan resembles that of John Quincy Adams in the length of his public services and the number of important posts which he filled, though not in the distinction of the services rendered. When Buchanan entered upon the presidency at the advanced age of sixty-six, he had served successively as a member of the House of Representatives and of the United States Senate from Pennsylvania, minister to Russia, Secretary of State, and minister to Great Britain. Despite his experience he was a weak President.

The several plans for the settlement of the question of slavery in the territories were still before the nation. First, there was the plan of allowing Congress to decide the question, which was followed in the Ordinance of 1787 and in the Missouri Compromise and proposed in the Wilmot Proviso; second, that of Cass and Douglas, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, of allowing the people themselves in the territories to make the decision; third, that of Calhoun, who had maintained that the Constitution carried slavery into the territories with its guarantee of protection of property rights. A few days after the inauguration of President Buchanan the Supreme Court of the United States set aside the plan of Douglas, which at that time was in the ascendancy, quite as suddenly and unexpectedly as Douglas himself had brushed aside the congressional plan of the Missouri Compromise, and by a decision bearing the dignity and the prestige of the Supreme Bench indorsed the plan of Calhoun.

The Dred Scott Decision of the Supreme Court.

This decision, which was delivered in 1857, was occasioned by a case which had arisen in Missouri ten years earlier. A slave, Dred Scott by name, whom his master had taken from the slave state of Missouri, into the territory of Minnesota, which had been made free by the Missouri Compromise, and then had brought back to Missouri, sued for his freedom on the ground that residence in a free country had made him free. The court held that a negro descended from slaves could not be a citizen of the United States and therefore could not bring a suit at law in the courts of the United States. Here the tribunal might have stopped, as this settled the question before it. The court, however, went on to say that even if Dred Scott had had the right to bring the suit, residence in the supposed free territory could not make him free, because that territory was not legally free and Congress had had no right to declare it to be free; that, therefore, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, declaring the Louisiana country north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ to be free territory, was unconstitutional; that a slave was a piece of property, the ownership of which was guaranteed by the fifth amendment of the Constitution just like the ownership of any piece of property; and that the provisions of the Constitution applied to the territories as well as to the states. The minority of the court presented a powerful dissenting opinion.

The leading points in the decision.

Said President Buchanan in a message to Congress: "I cordially congratulate you on the final settlement by the Supreme Court of the United States of the question of slavery in the territories, which had presented an aspect so truly formidable at the commencement of my administration. The right has

President Buchanan on the decision.

been established of every citizen to take his property of every kind, including slaves, into the common territories belonging equally to all the states of the confederacy, and to have it protected there under the Federal Constitution. Neither Congress nor a territorial legislature nor any human power has any authority to impair this vested right."

The South was highly delighted over the revolutionary decision, from which there was no appeal. The North, on the other hand, was **Effects of** in consternation. No longer could a fight against slavery **the decision.** in the territories be of any avail, if the national government was required by the Constitution to recognize slavery there. If the slaveholding faction had so far gained possession of the law-making and law-interpreting branches of the government as to win two important concessions, first the Kansas-Nebraska Act and second the Dred Scott Decision, what would be the next step? Might not the same faction insist also that the Constitution carried slavery into the states? Abraham Lincoln declared, "If I were in Congress, and a vote were to come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott Decision, I would vote that it should." Senator Seward said, "Let the court recede. Whether it recedes or not, we shall reorganize the court and thus reform its political sentiments and practices and bring them into harmony with the Constitution and the laws of the nation."

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION AND THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

The encouraged pro-slavery party in Kansas proceeded to prepare for statehood, just as the free state people had tried to do at Topeka.

The Lecompton constitution in Kansas. They framed a state constitution at Lecompton in November, 1857, and by a ruse attempted to make it appear that a majority of the people of Kansas approved of the document. It was a slave constitution. "The right of the owner of a slave to such slave . . . is . . . as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever. . . . Free negroes shall not be permitted to live in this state under any circumstances." The people were to vote for the instrument "with slavery" or "without slavery," which meant only that if it should be adopted "without slavery" slaves might not be brought in, but that the slaveholders already there would be protected in their slave property and that free negroes would never be allowed to live in the state. Since they were denied the opportunity of passing on this constitution as a whole, which was the only course that the anti-slavery partisans could follow with consistency, they spurned the trick and refrained from voting alto-

gether; and the constitution "with slavery" was approved by a vote of 6143 to 589. The opponents of slavery, however, succeeded in electing a majority of the legislature under the new constitution. When this body had met and directed that the people should have another chance to vote on the constitution as a whole, the constitution was rejected by a majority of 10,000. There could be no doubt as to the mind of the people of Kansas in regard to slavery.

Now came the supreme moment of President Buchanan's official career. A similar crisis had come to President Fillmore when he was forced to a decision on the Fugitive Slave Law, and to President Pierce when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill came to him from Congress; and, like these two Presidents, Buchanan wrecked his administration by his choice. In a

Rejection of
the Lecompton
constitution by
Congress.

message to Congress he urged the lawmakers to give to the Lecompton constitution their official approval and under it make Kansas a slave state. Kansas is "at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina," wrote the President. A violent struggle followed in Congress. Douglas rushed to the defense of the principle of popular sovereignty, which he claimed was outraged by the manner in which the Lecompton constitution was adopted, defied the President, and with all his powers opposed the Lecompton constitution. It was not against slavery as an institution that he was fighting, for he cared not, he professed, whether it was "voted down or voted up"; rather he was fighting for the right of the people of the territory to a fair vote. In the North Douglas's dramatic break with the administration and opposition to the Lecompton constitution were popular, but the South was enraged at the seeming desertion of the leader who had done so much for slavery four years earlier. The bill to admit Kansas under the slave constitution passed the Senate but failed in the House of Representatives; and then in the deadlock the two houses passed a bill, introduced in the House of Representatives by English of Indiana, according to which certain gifts of lands were offered to Kansas, if she would accept the Lecompton constitution. By 11,088 votes to 1788 the people rejected the bribe, and Kansas waited until 1861, when she was made a state under a free constitution.

In the summer of 1858, after he had broken with the administration, Douglas returned to Illinois to seek reelection in the state legislature to the United States Senate. Opposing him, as the candidate of the new Republican party, was his old friend, Abraham Lincoln. The latter, when still a boy, had come into the state from the slave state of Kentucky, while Douglas had come in his young manhood from the free state of Ver-

The Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois.

mont. Both were self-made men, both active in the profession of the law, and both had served in the Illinois legislature and in the lower house of Congress. Lincoln left Washington after a single term in the House of Representatives and returned to Illinois to resume the practice of law, while Douglas remained at the national capital and entered the Senate. The Kansas-Nebraska Act aroused Lincoln to a fresh interest in politics, and he again entered the political arena. When Douglas began to tour the state for the sake of securing a Democratic majority in the legislature which should return him to the Senate, Lincoln, as the Republican candidate for the same office, challenged him to a series of debates and Douglas accepted.

The principal topic in the debates was slavery in the territories, and on this subject Lincoln propounded to his adversary a fatal question.

The latter had already alienated the South by his attitude on the Lecompton constitution, and by merciless logic Douglas's "Freeport Doctrine." Lincoln now forced him to take his stand in opposition to the Dred Scott Decision. Which theory held, queried Lincoln, that of the Dred Scott Decision or that of popular sovereignty? Douglas attempted to defend popular sovereignty by proclaiming what is now known as the "Freeport Doctrine," because it was at this town in Illinois that he committed himself on the subject. Lincoln asked, "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas replied: "I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. . . . It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or to exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body, who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."

And Mr. Lincoln was satisfied, for he saw that such an answer would turn the Southerners from Douglas beyond all hope of reconciliation, and deprive him of their support for the presidency in 1860. "I am after larger game," said Lincoln to friends, who opposed his propounding the question; "if Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this." The sum and substance of Douglas's answer, according to Lincoln, was "that a thing may be lawfully driven from the place where it has a lawful right to stay."

Lincoln lost the senatorship, but by widening the breach in the Democratic party between the followers of Douglas and the radical Southerners he was making possible the national victory of the Republicans under his own leadership in 1860.

Douglas wins
reelection to
the Senate.

B. J. L.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1849-1861

While slavery was breeding strife in domestic politics, the same question obtruded itself into the conduct of foreign affairs. In 1849, at the close of the Mexican War, and in 1851, Narcisso Lopez led filibustering expeditions from the United States to Cuba to free the island from the power of Spain and possibly prepare the way for its ultimate annexation to the United States as a slave state. The people of the island did not rise up for freedom as the invaders had expected; the expedition failed, and with some of his men Lopez was executed on the public square of Havana. Among the followers of Lopez were members of several of the leading families of New Orleans. When the news of the execution became known in that city an angry mob insulted the Spanish consul, offered insults to a picture of the Queen of Spain and even to the Spanish flag, for which indignities the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, felt constrained to offer an apology to the Spanish government.

Filibustering
expeditions
to acquire
Cuba.

Relations with Spain were again strained early in 1854, when the Spanish authorities at Havana, Cuba, seized the *Black Warrior*, a merchant vessel of the United States, for an alleged violation of the commercial regulations of that port. This time it was the part of Spain to offer an apology; and backed by the enthusiastic support of the people President Pierce made a demand on Spain for reparation. The reply of the Spaniards was unsatisfactory, but fortunately the attention of the people of the United States was diverted from the Spanish situation by the absorbing question of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Ultimately the *Black Warrior* was released.

The Black
Warrior
episode.

In the fall of the same year, 1854, it was again Spain's turn to take offense, when James Buchanan, United States minister to Great Britain, **The Ostend Manifesto.** J. Y. Mason, United States minister to France, and Pierre Soulé, United States minister to Spain, met at Ostend, Belgium, at the direction of President Pierce, and prepared and sent to the President a paper on the subject of Cuba, called the Ostend Manifesto. The document set forth the argument that the island of Cuba was of no advantage to Spain, but that, if surrendered to the United States at a price to be agreed upon, the result would be of benefit to both countries as well as to Cuba herself. The claim was made that "self-preservation is the first law of nature," and that if Cuba in the hands of Spain endangered the peace of the United States, as seemed likely, the United States, "by every law, human and divine," would be justified in taking it by force. It seems never to have occurred to the overzealous ministers that Cuba in the hands of the United States, because of the disputes over slavery that would inevitably follow, would be a greater menace to the peace of the Union than if she remained in the hands of Spain.

The President did not see fit to act in accordance with the advice. The people of the United States were occupied with the difficulties arising out of the Kansas question and had no heart for aggression against a foreign power, and Spain's injured feelings had a chance to subside.

In the next year, 1855, William Walker, a citizen of the United States, with a band of associates, set up a revolutionary government in Nicaragua in Central America. The usurpers signalized their rule by the almost immediate reintroduction of slavery into the country, though the natives had abolished it, and held their ground for two years before they were driven out. A second expedition proved futile, and in a third, against Honduras, he was at last seized and executed in that country in 1860. Although he never had the official backing of the United States government in his acts, outside nations regarded him as aided and abetted by the slaveholding element of the Southern States of the Union.



ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

From the excitement occasioned in foreign and domestic affairs by the subject of slavery in the decade of the fifties the mistaken impression must not be formed that the people of the United States at this time talked and thought of little else. The development of the ever-receding frontier in the West was a matter of general concern. We have seen how the central

**Laws to
open up the
West.**

government in the first half of the century refused any considerable aid to public improvements, and how the states themselves went heavily into the work, only to repent later of their policy. Congress began to change its course slowly after 1848, not at first by constructing public improvements itself but by giving its aid to the states, with the requirement that the states in turn assist the private companies engaged in the improvements. Under the "land grant railroad policy" of the general government 2,600,000 acres were voted in 1850 to Illinois for the Illinois Central Railroad and large amounts to other states to build the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. In the next fifteen years 20,000,000 acres of public lands were disposed of in the interests of western railroads. Other laws bestowed on the states thousands of acres of "swamp lands" and "saline lands," to be used as the states might direct; and four different acts bestowed 50,000,000 acres of military bounty lands on old soldiers.

In the decade from 1850 to 1860 the total value of all farm property, which in 1850 was \$3,900,000,000, doubled; the annual cotton crop, which amounted to 2,100,000 bales in 1850, almost doubled in the same interval, while the annual corn crop of 590,000,000 bushels and that of wheat, which reached 100,000,000 bushels in 1850, increased approximately fifty per cent.

**Agricultural
statistics.**

Railroad construction went on in every section. In all the United States from 1850 to 1860, 20,000 miles of railroad were constructed, or four times as many miles as in the previous decade. Among the new western roads were the Illinois Central, the Mobile and Ohio, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, and many others, all richly endowed with the government lands. The trunk lines from the east were at the same time making their way over the Appalachian Mountains in their progress westward, the Erie from New York to Buffalo, the New York Central from New York to Chicago, the Pennsylvania from Philadelphia to Chicago, and the Baltimore and Ohio from Baltimore to Cincinnati and St. Louis.

**Rapid
railroad
construction.**

The growth of the western cities was magical. Chicago, which had been founded as a fort in the Indian country in 1804, was in 1833 still a small village of one hundred and fifty wooden houses.

In the next five years, as a result of the prosperous times of Andrew Jackson, its population rose to 4000; but its shipments of grain in 1838 amounted to only 78 bushels of wheat. By 1860 it numbered 109,000 inhabitants, and in this year over the new lines of transportation which were opening up, by lakes, canals, and railroads, it shipped 11,000,000 bushels of wheat. This phenome-

**The growth
of Chicago
and New
York.**

nal advance was an index of the growth of the entire Northwest, for which Chicago was the natural receiving and distributing center. New York City profited by the new methods of communication with the West and increased rapidly in wealth and population; her 300,000 inhabitants in 1840 had increased to 800,000 in 1860. The total population of the United States rose from 17,000,000 in 1840 to 23,000,000 in 1850 and 31,000,000 in 1860.

The development of the country's mineral resources kept pace with the general progress. In 1810 the average annual production of gold was \$2000, in 1820 \$73,000, in 1830 \$564,000, in 1840 \$1,000,000, and in 1850, two years after the opening of the California mines, \$50,000,000. In the decade from 1850 to 1860 the annual production of gold averaged \$55,000,000. This large addition to the wealth of the country worked mightily for prosperity. Silver production was inconsiderable. From 1850 to 1860 the annual production of coal and of pig iron, both excellent indices of general prosperity, especially along manufacturing lines, advanced, the one from 6,000,000 tons to 13,000,000 tons, and the other from 560,000 to 820,000 tons.

Agricultural development, the building of new railroads and cities, and the progress in the mining industries created an unusual demand for laborers, which in turn induced an increase in immigration. Failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1846, stern repression of political revolution in the German states in 1848, and wars and upheavals in other parts of the continent of Europe contributed to the movement. In 1820, 8000 immigrants arrived from Europe, 23,000 came in 1830, 84,000 in 1840, and 370,000 in 1850. Each year of the fifties saw an increase, until in 1854 the number reached 425,000. In the decade 1850-1860, 2,700,000 immigrants, mostly Irish, Germans, and English, entered the United States, the Irish generally settling in the manufacturing centers of the East or seeking work on the canals and railroads, and the Germans and the English finding their way to the agricultural sections of the Middle West. Almost all the newcomers cast their fortunes with the Northern States, for to the independent artisans and laborers of Europe competition with enforced black labor was unattractive.

The movement was a continuation of that by which the country had been built up from the beginning. Except the Indians, all the inhabitants of the United States are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. History shows, however, that after men have arrived in the new country and have enjoyed its freedom and opportunity for a number of years, they frequently object to others coming to enjoy the same privileges. The

The progress of mining.

Immigration.

Opposition to immigration.

riots against the immigrants in Andrew Jackson's time illustrate this fact, and from 1850 to 1860 fresh riots disclose the same tendency. The anti-foreigners went so far as to form the Know-Nothing party, which, as we have seen, placed a presidential candidate in the field in 1856. The party won a few local and state elections and then died. The sober second thought of the nation revolted at the idea of organized opposition to immigration. The moral question of slavery was a more substantial issue on which to found a political party.

The swelling tide of prosperity which set in during the forties continued up to within a few weeks after President Buchanan took his seat, and then suddenly receded in the financial panic of 1857. Thousands lost their fortunes and other thousands lost their work. It was the panic of 1837 over again on a somewhat smaller scale, brought about by the same general set of causes. In their prosperity and in the abundance of money after the discoveries of gold in California, men had speculated too heavily in public lands, in railroads, in city real estate, in mineral-bearing lands, and in many other lines of investment. They had gone too far and the inevitable crash overtook them.

While the people were gradually recovering from the effects of this panic, providential discoveries of new mineral deposits brought encouragement to the whole nation. Petroleum or crude oil was found in a drilled well at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. The first well was not a flowing well, but the oil was pumped from it at the rate of twenty-five barrels per day, which was equal to a daily income of \$1000. Soon the Funk well, the first flowing well, was struck. "Funk was a poor man when the well was struck. It was struck in June, 1861, and commenced flowing to the astonishment of all oil borers in the neighborhood at the rate of two hundred and fifty barrels per day. Such a prodigal supply upset all calculations, and it was confidently predicted that it would cease. The oil, however, continued flowing with but little variation for fifteen months and then stopped, but not before Funk became a very rich man. Long before the Funk well had given out there were new sensations."

Along Oil Creek in Pennsylvania, where the discoveries were made, Oil Creek, Franklin, Titusville, and other towns sprang up out of the wilderness, and fifty million gallons of oil were soon produced annually. Similar discoveries were made in other parts of the country. It was through a monopoly of the petroleum industry, built up by the Standard Oil Company, that the Rockefeller fortune has been created, the largest private fortune in the world, amounting, according to one estimate, to \$1,000,000,000.

In the same year, 1859, there was discovered in Colorado the New gold and silver mines. Gregory lode of gold, and in Nevada the famous Comstock lode, the latter an immensely rich vein of gold and silver, which in six years yielded \$50,000,000.

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RHODES, *United States*, I-II; McMASTER, *United States*, VIII; ALLEN JOHNSON, *Stephen A. Douglas*; SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*, II, 315-414; HARDING, *Orations*, 267-291.

SPECIAL TOPICS

1. THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. EPOCHS, VII, 110-115; W. H. SIEBERT, *Underground Railroad*; M. G. McDUGAL, *Fugitive Slaves*; RHODES, *United States*, II, 74-77, and 361-365; *Contemporaries*, IV, 80-96.

2. THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS. VILLARD, *John Brown*, 79-266; L. W. SPRING, *Kansas*, 37-257; *Old South Leaflets*, IV, 83; EPOCHS, VII, 164-168; *Contemporaries*, IV, 97-121; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 351-365; HARDING, *Orations*, 292-308.

3. THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES. NICOLAY and HAY, *Abraham Lincoln*, II, 135-170; G. H. PUTNAM, Ed., *The Political Debates Between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas*; HARDING, *Orations*, 309-341; *Old South Leaflets*, IV, 85; RHODES, *United States*, II, 320-338.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

LONGFELLOW, *Poems on Slavery*; LOWELL, *Stanzas on Freedom* (Wendell Phillips, To William Lloyd Garrison, and On the Capture of Fugitive Slaves near Washington); STOWE, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; WHITTIER, *Ichabod*, *Stanzas for the Times* — 1850, and *A Sabbath Scene*; G. W. BAGBY, *The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Why was California's application for statehood called "impertinent"? Trace the part of Henry Clay in each presidential contest from 1824 to 1848. Were Clay and Webster right in pushing the Compromise of 1850? State the difference between nullification in South Carolina and the personal liberty laws of the Northern States. Why was the Whig party a failure? Why did the Know-Nothing party fail? Give the causes for the failure of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Explain why the Dred Scott Decision was incompatible with popular sovereignty. Why was it a mistake for the Supreme Court to pass on the question of territorial slavery? Why was the Ostend Manifesto an affront to Spain? Ought Fillmore to have refused to sign the fugitive slave bill? Pierce the Kansas-Nebraska bill? and Buchanan to have refused to send the Lecompton Constitution to Congress? How do you account for the wave of economic prosperity that swept the country after the Mexican War down to 1857? What were the leading issues before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1852 and 1856?

CHAPTER XXII

SECESSION

B.

JOHN BROWN'S RAID

ON Sunday night, the sixteenth of October, 1859, John Brown, the anti-slavery leader of Kansas, backed by the support of New England sympathizers, led a band of twenty-two men across the Potomac River from the Maryland shore to Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and made a daring but unsuccessful attempt to free the slaves of the surrounding region. Four of the inhabitants of the town and ten of the raiders were killed in the ensuing encounter and Brown himself and six of his confederates were arrested, while five others made their escape. Not a slave left his master to join the would-be deliverers.

John
Brown's
raid at Har-
per's Ferry,
Virginia.

Greater excitement has seldom stirred the nation, both North and South, than that which flamed forth the instant this startling intelligence spread over the country. In the North anti-slavery enthusiasm was carried almost to the point of fanaticism, as Brown's words in defense of his acts were reported. As he lay with wounds gaping and bleeding, he said to a newspaper reporter: "I hold that the Golden Rule 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you' applies to all that would help others to gain their liberty. . . . I want you to understand that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of the colored people oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful. . . . I wish to say, furthermore, that you had better, all you people at the South, prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question that must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it. The sooner you are prepared the better. You may dispose of me very easily. I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled, this negro question, I mean; the end of that is not yet."

Brown's
own defense.

The South, roused to more ardent defense of its system, denounced Brown as worse than murderer, as one who would incite the slaves to insurrection and expose the whites to the horrors of a servile war. He was charged with treason and conspiring with others to rebel, and murder in the first degree, and after an exciting trial at Charlestown, Virginia, he was found guilty and hanged.

His
punishment.

The opponents of slavery rallied to the standard of Harriet Beecher Stowe and John Brown, and attacked slavery with unsparing vigor.

**Arguments
against
slavery.**

Its revolting features were held up to public condemnation as never before. Now it was the barbarity of the punishment of offending slaves that was attacked, now the inhumanity of the slave auction, the separation of families, the brutal hunt for the runaway, and the cruelties and illegalities of the foreign slave trade, which was still openly carried on in defiance of the law. Such descriptions of a slave ship from Africa as the following depicted conditions against which humanity revolted. "The scene between decks was revolting. Stowed in sitting posture, with their knees drawn up close to their breasts, were over five hundred human beings, whose skin was black, mostly children and young persons, and some women. So close were they packed that they could not move, and could hardly breathe."

The Southerners pointed out the fairer aspects of the system, how the negroes in slavery were more civilized and Christianized than were their brethren in the wilds of Africa, how they were cared for by their masters and were generally satisfied with their lot; how, though naturally prone to laziness and theft, they were forced by slavery into useful industrial occupations, to which otherwise they would not submit; how the New Testament enjoined upon slaves obedience to their masters; and how the very prosperity of the Southern States was bound up with slavery as an economic necessity. Whereas in the early days of the republic many of the "Fathers," even in the South, had deplored the institution of slavery, although seeing no practical way of dispensing with it, the generation of Southerners of 1860 defended it with ardor upon both moral and economic grounds.

An influential book, "The Impending Crisis in the South, How to Meet It," written by Hinton Rowan Helper, a poor white of North

**Helper's
"Impending
Crisis."**

Carolina, made a startling comparison of the economic results of slavery and of freedom. The Southern States were shown to be even farther behind the states of the North in industries and commerce than in 1832, and "the causes which have impeded the progress and prosperity of the South . . . may be traced to a common source — slavery." An illustration shows the drift of the argument. Helper stated that when the first census was taken in 1790, New York had a population of 340,000 and Virginia 740,000, while sixty years later New York numbered 3,000,000 and Virginia 1,400,000. In 1791 the exports of the northern state equaled \$2,500,000 and those of the southern state \$3,100,000; in 1852

those of the former state amounted to \$87,000,000 and those of the latter to \$2,700,000. Although in the earlier year the imports of the two states were about equal, those of the northern state in 1853 reached \$178,000,000 and those of Virginia only \$400,000. The products of mining, manufacturing, and of the mechanic arts in the one case were valued in 1850 at \$237,000,000 and in the other at \$37,000,000; in the same year the real and personal property in Virginia, excluding slaves, was slightly over \$390,000,000, and in New York, where there were no slaves, \$1,080,000,000. New York City alone was worth more than the whole state of Virginia.

Helper called upon the non-slaveholding whites of the South to unite in a political party of their own and to work for the definite abolition of the system, which so retarded their section. "And now, sirs, we have thus laid down our ultimatum. What are you going to do about it? Something dreadful, of course! Perhaps you will dissolve the Union again. Do it, if you dare! Our motto, and we would have you to understand it, is 'the abolition of slavery and the perpetuation of the American union.' If by any means you do succeed in your treasonable attempts to take the South out of the Union to-day, we will bring her back to-morrow."

**His call for
the abolition
of slavery.**

With the written indorsement of sixty-eight Congressmen of the new Republican party, this book was circulated as a political campaign document by the Republicans in the state campaigns of 1859. It aroused such fiery opposition among the Democrats that in the House of Representatives in Washington the choice of the Speaker in 1859-1860 hinged upon indorsement or non-indorsement of the book.

**The influence
of the book.**

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

Swayed by the undying debate over slavery, the country again faced the necessity of electing a President. The leading question in dispute between the two parties was still how to deal with slavery in the territories. On this point the Democratic party split into two irreconcilable factions, the extreme southern faction on the one hand, which stood firmly for the principle of the Dred Scott Decision that slavery went into the territories with the Constitution, and the followers of Stephen A. Douglas on the other, who favored allowing the people in the territories themselves to decide whether or not they would have slavery. After the regular Democratic convention of the year had broken up in a bitter quarrel, the southern faction named for President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, while the other faction gave their nomination to Douglas.

**The
Democratic
Convention.**

The split greatly elated the Republicans, who came together in a harmonious convention, nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and declared again as in 1856 for the Missouri Compromise plan of congressional control of slavery in the territories. It was generally recognized that William H. Seward of New York deserved the Republican nomination, but he was passed over, as he had been four years earlier, for the reason that his prominence had brought him too many enemies to lead a cause which depended for its success upon winning new recruits. To the enunciation of the "higher law," which, from the moment Seward first gave utterance to it in 1850, had been constantly gaining adherents, he had added that of the "irrepressible conflict," shortly after the Lecompton struggle in Congress. By this phrase he meant that the contest between slavery and freedom was bound to go on till the nation was all free or all slave. This also was the position of Lincoln in his address to the Republican state convention of Illinois that nominated him for Senator against Douglas. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

A fourth party, known as the Constitutional Union party, the distinguishing characteristic of which was its refusal to commit itself on the great question of the day, nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

So far as slavery itself was concerned, the campaign debate centered about the principles of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott Decision; but the most exciting phase of the issue concerned secession from the Union and the formation of a separate southern republic, which the Southerners threatened to carry out if a Black Republican should be elected President.

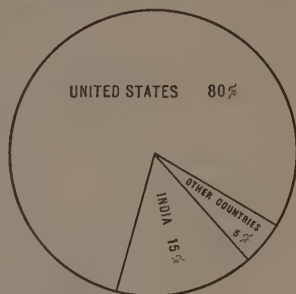
The reasons for such a radical step were many. The Southerners avowed that a victory of the party, the leaders of which denounced slavery as "a relic of barbarism" and stood for the principles of the "higher law," the "irrepressible conflict," and the "house divided against itself," would inevitably lead to more personal liberty laws, more open repudiation of the Dred Scott Decision, more attempts to exclude slavery from the territories, and more John Brown raids, until the existence of slavery even in the states would be threatened and the great agricultural interests dependent upon it be endangered. When it is realized that the crops

of cotton, tobacco, and sugar were intimately connected with the institution of slavery, that the prices of these crops were high and constantly advancing, and that the exportations of cotton alone constituted in value almost one-third of the total exports of the entire country in 1860, the force of the argument is easily perceived. At Virginia prices, the value of the four million slaves of the South was estimated at \$2,800,000,000. To save this vast investment and to render the staple crops secure, was, in the minds of many Southerners, a commercial necessity, exceeding in importance the perpetuation of any political union. A constitutional basis for secession was furnished by the strict construction arguments of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, as elaborated by Calhoun.

The Southerners believed that there could be no doubt of the successful accomplishment of secession. In the first place, they were confident that Great Britain, where hundreds of cotton mills were dependent on American cotton, would assist the new republic, in order to make sure of its usual supply of this raw material. In the second place, they counted on receiving aid from their fellow-Democrats in the Northern States. In the third place, they believed that aid would come to them from the slaveholders of the Border States, out of devotion to the common cause of slavery. In the fourth place, they had a faint hope that the states of the Northwest were still sufficiently dependent on the mouth of the Mississippi River as an outlet to a market, to follow the section which controlled the mouth of that river into secession.

Northerners piled up arguments against secession, though the temper on both sides soon reached such a heat that argument counted for little. They pointed out, like Clay and Webster before them, that secession would plunge the country into civil war. They prophesied that as soon as the first blows were struck, the northern sympathizers with the South would be swept off their feet in the prevailing enthusiasm for the Union, and that it was a delusion for the Southerners to look for much help in that quarter. They attempted to show to their Southern brethren that a government built up on the principle of secession would not rest on an enduring foundation, since the time might come when it would lose its own states, one after another, by the same disintegrating process. What right,

The hopes of
the seces-
sionists.



SOURCES OF ENGLISH COTTON
IMPORTS IN 1860

Arguments
against
secession.

they asked, had Louisiana and Florida to secede, brought into the Union by the common treasure? What right had Texas, secured to the Union by the blood of the soldiers of every state? The constitutionality of secession was denied *in toto*.

As a result of the balloting in November, the country gave 1,860,000 votes to Lincoln, 1,376,000 to Douglas, 850,000 to Breckinridge, and 590,000 to Bell. In the electoral colleges there were 180 votes for Lincoln, 12 for Douglas, 39 for Bell, and 72 for Breckinridge.

Lincoln
elected.

B mon

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

The South began at once to carry out its threat. As in 1832 in the less serious controversy with the central government over the tariff, "Brave little South Carolina" led the way, followed in order, before President Lincoln's inauguration, by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. South Carolina's ordinance of secession, December 20, 1860, was brief. "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the state of South Carolina and the other states united with her under the compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America': We the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by us in convention on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of this state ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved." The ordinances of secession in other states were similar to that of South Carolina.

Delegates from the first six states to secede, joined in a few days by delegates from Texas, assembled in convention in Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and in the remarkably short space of four days adopted a Provisional Constitution, and on March 11 a Permanent Constitution for the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen the first President of the new Confederacy, under the Provisional Constitution, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia the first Vice President. Among the strongest members of the Southern cabinet were Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, who at different times held the posts of Attorney General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State,

The Confed-
erate States
of America.

C. G. Memminger of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury, and John H. Reagan of Texas, the Postmaster General. The temporary capital of the Confederacy was at Montgomery, Alabama, but the permanent capital was later located at Richmond, Virginia.

The Constitution of the Confederate States is an interesting document, both because it states plainly the Southern point of view on the political questions of its day, and because, with the successes and failures of the Constitution of the United States as a guide, it is in some respects superior to that document.

**The
Confederate
Constitution.**

Slavery was made lawful in every state and in the territories, internal improvements at the expense of the central government and a protective tariff were forbidden, the doctrines of strict construction and states' rights was adopted, though the extreme steps of nullification and secession went unnamed. The President was to serve for a single term of six years and, in addition to the ordinary veto power, was to have the power of vetoing items in appropriation bills; the members of his cabinet were to have the right to sit on the floor of the two houses of Congress and to take part in debate, though not to vote. Each law was to relate to but one subject, that is, "riders" on appropriation bills were to be impossible. One of the final clauses contains the interesting provision, "The Confederate States may acquire new territory."

Three weeks before South Carolina seceded, President Buchanan, in his annual message to Congress, made one of the best arguments against the right of secession which had ever been advanced, and ended with the impotent conclusion that, although secession was unconstitutional, the President, as

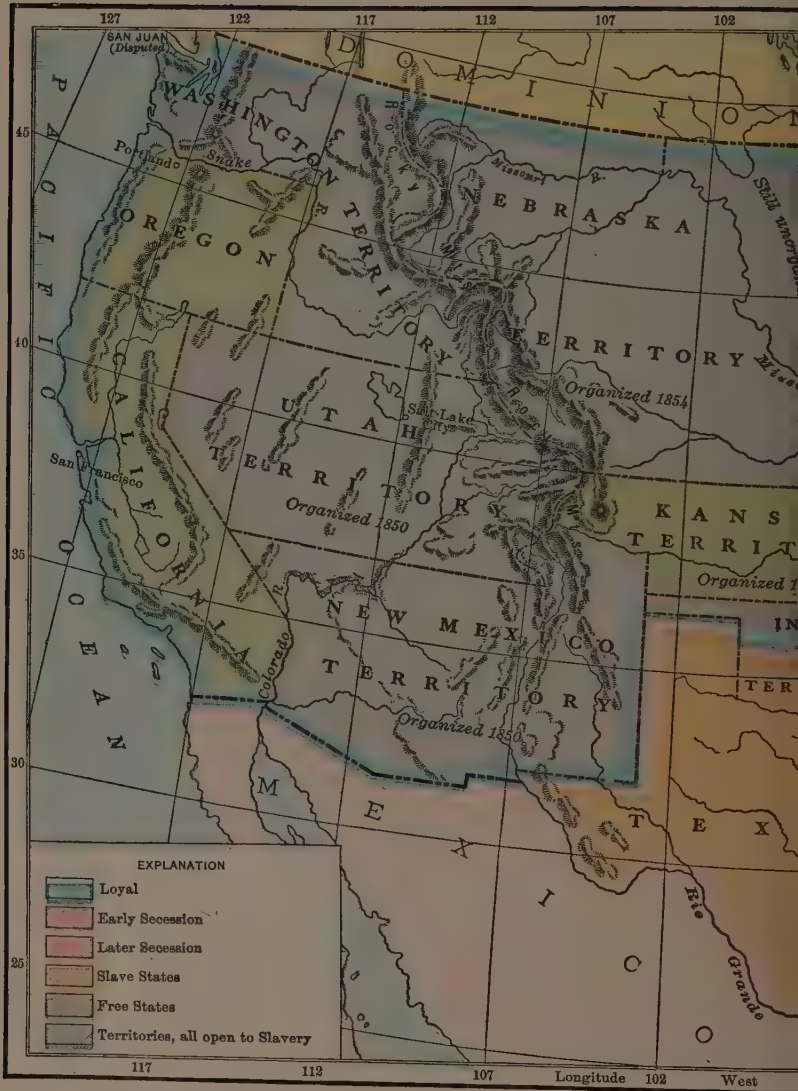
**Buchanan's
weakness in
the crisis.**

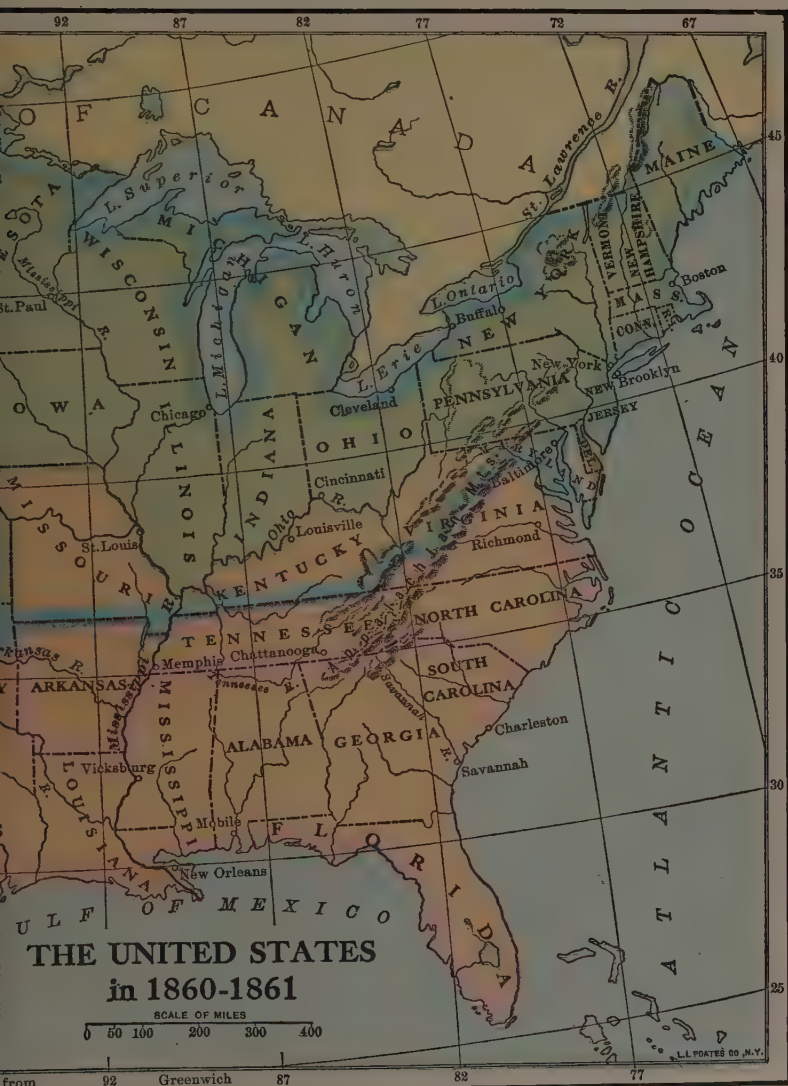
chief executive officer of the country and the commander-in-chief of its military and naval forces, had no power to stop it. As state after state followed South Carolina, he took no action; when South Carolina fired on a government vessel, the *Star of the West*, which was sent to take provisions to the Union soldiers in Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, still held by the United States, he offered no resistance; and he retained in the cabinet certain Southerners, who were suspected of using their official position in aid of the South. At this juncture the union-loving men of the North sighed, "Oh! for an hour of Andrew Jackson!" Never was a President more glad to lay down the reins of office than was James Buchanan on March 4, 1861. The one note pleasing to northern sympathizers, amid all the discord of Buchanan's last days, was the message of the Secretary of the Treasury, John A. Dix, to a subordinate in New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

As in the crises of 1820, 1832, and 1850, proposals of compromise were made to conciliate the disaffected sections. These plans were numbered by the score, but the one that received most **Compromise proposed.** attention was brought forward by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, the successor of Henry Clay in the United States Senate. He proposed to amend the Constitution in the following respects: first, that the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ be restored and extended to California, all the territory north of the line to be free and all the territory south of it to be slave; second, that the United States guarantee to the slaveholders remuneration for fugitive slaves lost in the North; and third, that the United States formally renounce forever the right to interfere with slavery in the states. A peace conference of one hundred and thirty-three commissioners from twenty-three states, assembling in Washington with ex-President Tyler in the chair, proposed still other plans. Committees of the two houses of Congress set to work, and finally the Senate and the House of Representatives passed and transmitted to the states for ratification that part of the Crittenden proposals protecting slavery in the states from the action of the Federal government. By common agreement since 1789 the Federal government had uniformly refrained from all interference with slavery in the states, so that the new proposition did not involve any radical innovation; the measure merely sought to base on the more reliable foundation of a constitutional amendment that which till then had been a voluntary practice. Three northern states had given the amendment their approval, when war intervened to put an end to all measures of conciliation.

The President-elect discouraged compromise. He believed that he and his party, at the outset of the new administration, ought not to desert the platform principle of territorial freedom on which they had won the election. Such a change would **President-elect Lincoln opposes compromise.** tend to bring the party into contempt as a party of no fixed principles, would alienate adherents, weaken the administration at the very time when it most needed support, and leave the way open to future strife over slavery in the territories. Lincoln wrote: "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do they have us under again: all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over again. . . . Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later."

While Lincoln was thus leading his party against the delays and compromises of the Democrats, for it was mainly the northern Democrats who were engaged in bringing forward the conciliatory proposals,





Jefferson Davis was leading the Southern States in their equally momentous decision against compromise. Surely no President ever faced more important issues or met them more squarely than did Presidents Lincoln and Davis.

President
Davis opposes
compromise.

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SPECIAL TOPICS

1. JOHN BROWN, *Old South Leaflets*, IV, 84; EPOCHS, VII, 177-194; FITE, *Presidential Campaign of 1860*, 1-32; VILLARD, *John Brown*; F. B. SANBORN, *John Brown; Contemporaries*, IV, 144-150; HILL, *Decisive Battles*, 65-106.
2. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST SLAVERY. *Epochs*, VI, 77-86; FITE, *Presidential Campaign of 1860*, 33-91; *Contemporaries*, IV, 59-79.
3. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST SECESSION. *Epochs*, VIII, 14-17; FITE, *Presidential Campaign of 1860*, 162-197; *Contemporaries*, IV, 164-179; *Epochs*, VIII, 14-17; HARDING, *Orations*, 362-369.
4. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860. FITE, *Presidential Campaign of 1860; Contemporaries*, IV, 151-163; *Epochs*, VIII, 3-13; E. STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 279-297; NICOLAY and HAY, *Abraham Lincoln*, II, 216-295.


ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

E. C. STEDMAN, *How Old Brown Took Harper's Ferry*; WHITTIER, *Brown of Ossawatimie*; HOLMES, *Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Give the moral, Biblical, and economic arguments for and against slavery. Why did the politicians of the Republican party judge that Lincoln would be a better leader in 1860 than Seward? How did Stephen A. Douglas help elect Lincoln? What can you say in justification of the secession of the Southern States? Why were the Confederates able to make their Constitution so quickly? Point out any respects in which the Confederate Constitution was superior to the Constitution of the United States. What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaign of 1860? Why was the South alarmed over the election of a Republican President in 1860?

End



get the book from the north.

CHAPTER XXIII

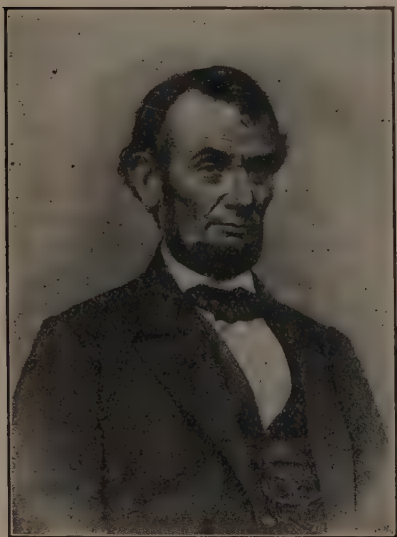
THE CIVIL WAR

THE FIRST YEAR OF WAR, 1861

THE inaugural address of President Lincoln was awaited by the nation with intense interest. It was known that the new President was opposed to compromise and that he had openly exerted his influence against such measures, but the country waited to see whether he would maintain that position with all it involved, when he took official charge of the

Lincoln's
inaugural
address.

government, or would offer some compromise measures of his own to preserve the peace. The address proved to be a calm and dignified statement of the northern side of the dispute, with no suggestion of compromise. The President affirmed that he would not interfere with slavery in the states but that he would defend the forts and other property of the United States in the South and would collect the tariff. If there was a quarrel, he would not be the aggressor. "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to de-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

stroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"

Lincoln's cabinet was one of the strongest in the history of the government, comparing favorably even with that of Washington in his first

administration. The President gave the leading places to his five rivals for the Republican presidential nomination the preceding year. William H. Seward, Senator from New York, became Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, ex-Senator from Ohio and ex-Governor of that state, Secretary of the Treasury, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War, succeeded within a year by Edwin M. Stanton of Pennsylvania; Edwin Bates of Missouri Attorney General, and Caleb Smith of Indiana Secretary of the Interior. The Navy Department went to Gideon Welles of Connecticut and the Post Office Department to Montgomery Blair of Maryland. Bates and Blair from the conservative slave states served to represent that uncertain section of the Union. Though able and representative of the various sections of the country, the new cabinet proved to be an unruly one; but, like Washington, Lincoln proved himself the master of his headstrong advisers.

The cabinet
of President
Lincoln.

The selections for the cabinet were made before inauguration day. After the inauguration came the difficult task of selecting the subordinate officials of the administration such as the foreign ministers and consuls, the officials in the customs service, the United States marshals, the postmasters, and the hosts of officials in the executive departments in Washington. Great care was necessary to detect and exclude Southerners and Southern sympathizers, and to install in office only the unquestionably loyal. Under these extraordinary circumstances Lincoln made the cleanest sweep from office in the history of the country, not even excepting Jackson's celebrated "division of the spoils." The days of the present civil service reform were yet to come.

The reorgani-
zation of the
civil service.

The question of how to deal with the seceding states was soon pressed home on the new President. His stand against compromise was unalterable; and in the inaugural address he had pledged himself not to use force on the Southern States if they remained within the law. Early in the history of the Federal government the state of South Carolina had ceded to the United States the island in Charleston harbor on which Fort Sumter was situated, and the officials of the state now took the position that under secession the island reverted to the state. South Carolina even endeavored to treat with the authorities at Washington as to the amount of money to be paid to the national government for the improvements on the island, including the fort. The Washington government, not recognizing that there could be such a thing as secession, would neither treat with the state nor give up the fort.

The question
of Fort
Sumter.

Whether or not to attempt to send provisions to the United

States garrison at Fort Sumter was a matter for immediate decision. Shots had been fired at the *Star of the West*, when the attempt had been made in the preceding administration, but now the soldiers were on the verge of starving. In the crisis many friends of the government favored withdrawing the men rather than bring war upon the nation. "Let

Whether or
not to send
provisions.



FORT SUMTER

the erring sisters go in peace," they urged. Even some members of the cabinet favored this course, but Lincoln refused to make the humiliating withdrawal, nor would he desert his own soldiers. With full knowledge of the probable results of the step, he sent word to the Governor of South Carolina that he intended to send provisions into the fort but not men or military supplies. This step forced upon the South the responsibility of firing the first shot, if they chose to resist.

With their speedily organized government behind them, the Confederate States accepted the challenge. On Friday, April 12, 1861, at four-thirty in the morning, when the Federal fleet with provisions was off the harbor of Charleston, the Southerners under orders from President Davis fired on Major Anderson and his Union garrison at Sumter to force them out before the provisions could be landed. The fort answered gallantly, but after more than thirty hours of continuous fighting, defense was hopeless and the garrison was compelled to surrender. Major Anderson and his men were allowed to give a last salute to their flag and to march out with all the honors of war, on Sunday, the fourteenth of April, and sail away to New York. The war had begun, though no blood was shed in the first encounter.

The war
began.

The Confederacy had been engaged in raising troops for several

weeks before Sumter was fired upon. On Monday morning, April 15, by a proclamation which resembled that of Washington when the latter called out the militia to suppress the Whisky Insurrection, Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand state militia to carry into execution the laws of the land.

The rush on both sides to enlist.

The dreadful excitement that now swept over both sections of the

nation can be but faintly realized by the present generation. To avenge the insult to the national flag on the one hand, and on the other to defend even at the point of the sword their newly asserted right of self-government, Northern and Southern patriots rushed forward to enlist, in the maddest passion that America had ever seen.

Friends at home contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars for the

comfort of the volunteers and the support of their families, and in every village of the nation the young soldiers were "off to the wars." In the suspense the solemn reflection weighed on all, that fellow-citizens were arrayed against fellow-citizens, brothers against brothers.

Party strife ceased in the North. Douglas, leader of the Northern Democrats, went to the White House in person to assure his old rival of his own support and that of his followers. The state of Virginia, which till the first shots had been fired, had refused to secede, was drawn into the Confederacy, and was followed shortly by three more states, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Indeed to bring these conservative states into their fold had been one of the chief objects of the South in taking the responsibility of firing on the flag of the United States, even though it was feared that the accession of these states to their cause must be secured at the expense of losing friends in the states farther north.

On the anniversary of the battle of Concord and Lexington, April 19, one week after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the first blood of the war was shed in the streets of Baltimore, Maryland. The sixth



SCALE OF MILES
0 1/4 1/2 1

FORT SUMTER AND CHARLESTON HARBOR

Emman

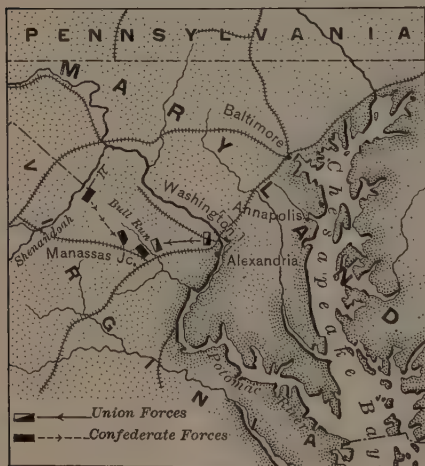
Party spirit laid aside.

Massachusetts regiment, crossing the city on its way to Washington, was confronted by a crowd of Southern sympathizers and several lives were lost. Telegraph wires were cut, and railroad bridges and tracks were destroyed on the only route between Washington and the North. The capital was isolated for several days. At last several regiments from Massachusetts and New York, which had reached Annapolis by water, marched overland to Washington, and on April 25, rendered the capital safe.

Lincoln's first call for troops was followed quickly by a call for 42,000 volunteers for three years. Neither these troops, however, nor the militia were ordered at once to march against the South. Delay was unavoidable. The first attention and

energy of the President were necessarily given to the question of civil organization and appointments to office. The existence of a strong Southern sentiment in Baltimore and throughout the state of Maryland rendered it necessary to secure thorough control of this region north of Washington before making a show of force against the states farther south. Lastly the green troops that had been gathered at the capital were sadly in need of discipline and training before they would be fit for active service.

The weeks rolled by with no important engagement, and July 20 drew near, the date set



SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 80

BATTLE OF BULL RUN

for the meeting of the Confederate Congress in their permanent capital at Richmond, Virginia. "On to Richmond!" demanded the impatient Northern press, "the Southern Congress must not be allowed to meet," and "On to Washington!" rang out the defiant cry from the South.

On Sunday, July 21, the opposing forces of the two sections met at Manassas Junction near the little creek of Bull Run in eastern Virginia. General McDowell, at the head of 30,000 Union men, attacked General

The first bloodshed, Baltimore, Maryland, April 19, 1861.

The call for troops.

The Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

Beauregard with a force of 23,000 Southerners. Both armies were green, both somewhat afraid to fight; but after an all-day struggle the Confederates won and the Northerners retreated to Washington, thirty miles away. If the Southerners had pursued them, they probably would have taken the Northern capital without much difficulty. B.

While the first battle was a victory for the South, its effects at the North were beneficial rather than otherwise. Men were aroused to the seriousness of the task that had been undertaken and to a determination to fight the war to a successful finish. The South, on the other hand, was unduly elated at its success, and its troops returned in crowds to their homes in the belief that the war was over.

The effect of
the battle.

Up to this time the general in command of the Northern forces was the aged veteran of two wars, Winfield Scott. He now retired, to give way to a younger man, George B. McClellan, who, warned by the lack of discipline at Bull Run, devoted his energies to organizing and drilling the soldiers in the vicinity of Washington. The new army, which was called the Army of the Potomac, was held back by its commander from active offensive operations for almost a year.

General Mc-
Clellan as
successor of
General Scott
in command
of the Union
forces.

The task of the South, in the war to which the two sections were now committed, was less difficult than that of the Federal government. To maintain its independent status and repel invasion was its object, with incursions into the Northern territory whenever this was possible. The North, on the other hand, was confronted with the necessity of invading and subjugating the entire Southern country. Its plan of aggressive campaign was fivefold: first, to capture Richmond; second, to hold the Border States to loyalty; third, to maintain a blockade of the Southern ports; fourth, to push back the Southern line of defense, which at the beginning stretched from Virginia across Kentucky and Tennessee to the Mississippi and beyond; and, fifth, to gain possession of the Mississippi and thus cut the Confederacy into two parts. The North must at the same time repel invasion of her own territory and protect the capital at Washington.

Military
problems.

In May and June of 1861, the first year of the war, while the Washington government was fastening its hold on Maryland preparatory to its invasion of Virginia, the two sides were struggling for the possession of the Border States of Missouri and Kentucky, and for the western part of Virginia, which had stood out against secession. The governors of Missouri and Kentucky indignantly refused Lincoln's call for militia; in Missouri

Missouri's
stand for
the Union.

serious fighting was required to save the state to the Union, and it was the loyalty of the large number of freedom-loving German immigrants in the state that turned the scales. The Union forces in Missouri were under the immediate command of General Nathaniel Lyon and General Francis P. Blair.

Kentucky, though torn by dissension, decided for the Union without serious fighting, while the western part of Virginia was won away from the Richmond government by the success in several small engagements of Captain, later General McClellan, whose achievements here paved the way for his promotion to the place of General Scott. The West Virginians remained loyal, and in 1863 they were admitted into the Union as a separate state. The formation of this state was a war measure, for which, strictly speaking, there was no constitutional warrant; in fact, the Constitution explicitly says, "No new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress."

The agricultural South, with little manufacturing, was obliged to depend on outside countries for most of its manufactured products, and President Lincoln instituted a blockade of their ports to shut off the possibility of further importations reaching them from the ocean. The task was a tremendous one, nothing less than the patrol of thousands of miles of coast and of countless entrances to harbors, rivers, and inlets. In the first days it was necessarily a mere paper blockade at many points, but hundreds of ships gradually took up the seemingly impossible task, and as the number of blockade runners breaking through grew less and less, it was evident that the blow dealt the Confederacy by the blockade was a powerful one.

There was nevertheless some question as to the wisdom of the blockade. To institute it was in itself an act of war, a recognition that those against whom it was declared had the right to perform similar acts of war and were therefore belligerents, regularly clothed with the right to wage war. According to the international law of the time there were three views that might be taken of the status of the Southerners. They might be regarded as rebellious subjects with no international standing whatsoever, whom the sovereign government of the United States was bound to reduce to allegiance. For rebellious subjects to "wage war" was an impossibility; all their acts of violence were mere lawless acts

Kentucky and West Virginia also loyal to the United States.

The blockade of the ports of the Confederacy.

Questions raised by the blockade.

against their lawful government. To the end of the war it was the contention of President Lincoln and his government that the Confederates were in this class, that is, mere rebels. President Davis and his followers placed the Confederacy upon higher ground. They aspired to the highest possible station, and declared themselves to be an independent nation. No other nation accorded them this rank. There was a third grade of international relationship, midway between rebellion and independence, into which the Southerners might be placed, and this was belligerency. Parties in arms, whose belligerency or right to wage war has been recognized, have achieved the first step toward independence. Their acts of violence are no longer mere acts of lawlessness, but acts of war; they have the right to equip armies and ships of war, and in their struggle for independence, but in this only, they may behave themselves like an independent nation.

Great Britain refused to regard the Confederates as the rebellious subjects of the United States, nor would she go so far as to recognize the Southerners as independent. She chose the middle course of recognizing them as belligerents, alleging that the United States herself had substantially taken the same ground by the declaration of the blockade. The conditions which, by international law, must exist in a rebellious state prior to a recognition of her belligerency, certainly existed in the Confederacy. These are, first, that the insurgents be not a mere band of marauders, but seekers after a political end; second, that they carry on war according to the rules of civilized warfare; third, that the extent of the revolt be such as to render the issue at least doubtful; and fourth, that the rebels be under a responsible governmental organization.

Great Britain and the belligerency of the Confederacy.

Despite the justification of the British, the "unfriendly haste" of their recognition of the belligerency of the Confederacy was greatly resented in the United States, and constituted the first in a series of events which embittered the relations of the United States and Great Britain throughout the war.

Embittered relations between the United States and Great Britain.

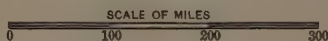
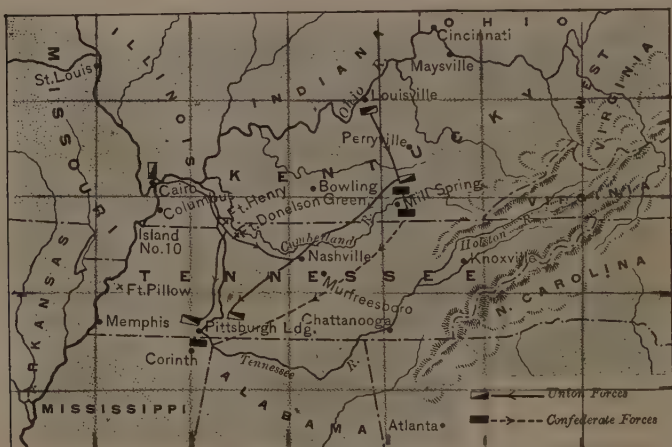
The United States herself in other ways practically recognized the belligerent rights of the Confederacy, for example, by the exchange of prisoners. Such an exchange with mere rebels would have been impossible. Theoretically, however, in the view of the Northern government the Southerners to the end remained citizens of the United States in rebellion against their lawful government.

The attitude of the United States in theory and in practice.

A YEAR OF UNCERTAINTY, 1862

By a rapid succession of events beginning early in 1862 the Northern soldiers and sailors pushed the Confederate lines in the western arena of war farther and farther to the south. In February Commander Foote ascended the Tennessee River with gunboats and captured Fort Henry, and ten days later General U. S. Grant with a land force seized Fort Donelson on the Cumberland and took 15,000 prisoners. At this fort General

Pushing
back the
Confederate
lines in the
West.



OPERATIONS IN THE WEST

Grant sent his famous dispatch to the Southerners, "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted," which won for him the popular title, "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. Two important waterways were thus opened to the heart of the Confederacy, and the Northerners proceeded to take advantage of the situation. General Grant pushed on with his forces up the Tennessee River to Shiloh in western Tennessee, and on April 6 and 7, with desperate fighting, during which 25,000 men from the two sides were left dead or wounded on the battle field, drove the Confederates into northern Mississippi. The Southern lines rallied at Corinth, but Grant broke through and compelled them to retreat farther into the South.

An attempt to carry the Confederate flag back toward the North was

made late in the same year, when General Bragg with 30,000 soldiers struck north through Chattanooga by railroad to a point near Louisville, Kentucky, even Cincinnati being reached by a small band. Bragg was obliged, however, to face the Federal soldiers at Perryville, Kentucky, where he was defeated, and again at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where he was so badly shattered by the Union forces that he abandoned his attempt and remained quietly at Chattanooga for several months.

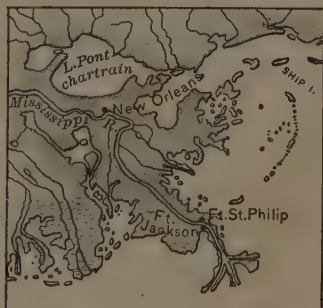
Repulse of the Confederate advance into Kentucky.

Closely following the seizures of Forts Henry and Donelson, the capture of Island Number 10 in the Mississippi River by the Union forces and the abandonment by the Confederates of Fort Pillow and the city of Memphis effectively completed the opening of the Mississippi as far south as Vicksburg.

Seizing the Mississippi.

From the south the river was opened to the forces of the Union as far north as Port Hudson, a little less than two hundred miles south of Vicksburg, by the capture of the South's greatest city and seaport, New Orleans. The commander of the victorious expedition against this city was Captain, or after this victory, Rear Admiral, Farragut, who as a boy had fought in the navy against the British in the War of 1812; and with him was the young Lieutenant George Dewey, who won the battle of Manila Bay in the Spanish War in 1898. Several forts were scattered along the river below New Orleans, while heavy iron chains stretched from bank to bank and a fleet of gunboats stood on guard. All these the Northern fleet passed and took the city. The closing of the mouth of the river was of material assistance in the enforcement of the blockade, and left the control of that interior waterway in Federal hands with the exception of the stretch between Port Hudson and Vicksburg.

The capture of New Orleans.



SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60

CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS

The spring campaign in the East in 1862 opened with the same success for the Northern arms. On the sea at Hampton Roads, off the coast of Virginia, for the first time in history two ironclad ships, the Northern *Monitor* and the Southern *Merrimac*, engaged each other. On the day previous, the *Merrimac*, which was a wooden ship captured from the United States at the outbreak of hostilities, now newly clad in iron

The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* in the East.

and renamed the *Virginia*, had destroyed the wooden Union ships, the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*, and had disabled the *Minnesota*. Such exploits, if continued, would have accomplished the raising of the blockade. The North was afraid, too, that the new vessel might sweep



ERICSSON'S MONITOR. Side Elevation

on victoriously to Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and by her exploits win for the Confederacy foreign recognition of its independence as a separate nation. The *Monitor* arrived upon the scene at the critical moment. Its inventor, Ericsson, had conceived the idea of an ironclad vessel with a revolving turret, able to deliver



THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMACK

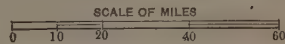
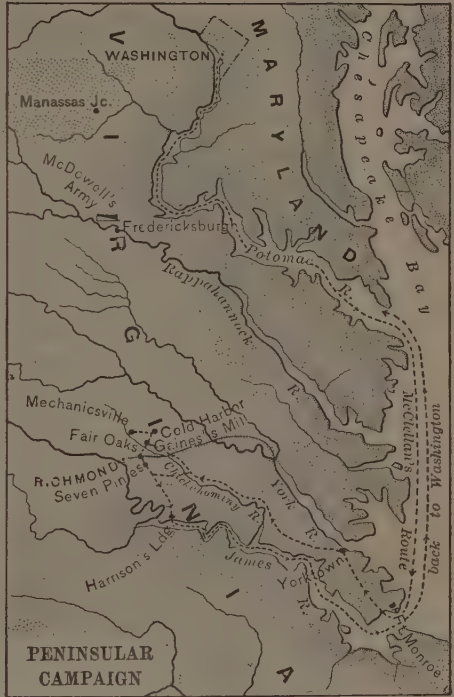
shots in any direction without shifting the position of the boat. This strange craft, "the Yankee cheese-box on a raft," steamed up to her overtowering antagonist and so far damaged her that the latter retired and refused further combat. Ironclad boats were not entirely new, for they had been used in the Crimean War in Europe, 1854-1856, but with the duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack* the era of ironclads, which were destined to revolutionize naval warfare the world over, was fairly inaugurated.

In the peninsular campaign in Virginia, which soon followed, the South scored a victory. The Confederate capital was protected on the north by rivers, streams, and an almost impassable wilderness, so that General McClellan determined to land his troops at the end of the peninsula between the York and James Rivers and march on Richmond from the south.

The failure of McClellan to take Richmond.

He arrived at the peninsula at the head of a well-drilled army of 100,000 men, but was unable to reach Richmond. He took Yorktown, where Cornwallis had surrendered in the War of Independence, then Williamsburg, and pushing north by hard fighting came within sight of the church spires of the Confederate capital. He sent word to President Lincoln to send him every available man, and received the promise of McDowell's army, which was defending Washington.

Just then, however, Stonewall Jackson dashed down the Shenandoah Valley, at the head of a Confederate cavalry force, driving out General Banks at the head of a Union force and creating alarm for the safety of the Federal capital. McDowell's forces were sent into the Shenandoah Valley against Jackson, while Jackson himself quickly joined Lee at Richmond in time to aid him against McClellan.



McCLELLAN'S PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

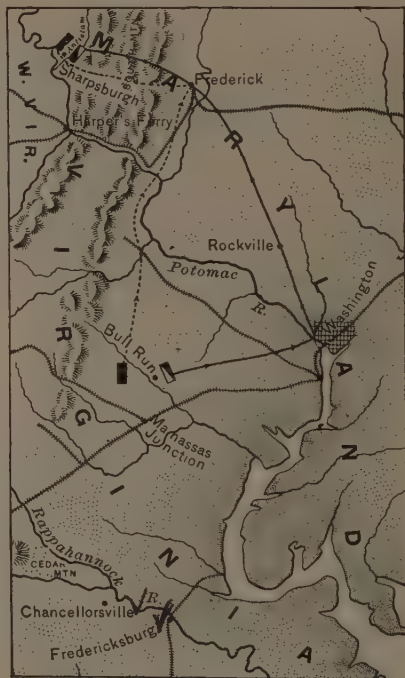
The latter, after seven days of almost continuous fighting, withdrew to Harrison's Landing on the James River, whence gunboats conveyed his troops back to Washington.

The North was chagrined that its forces had failed before Richmond. Various charges were made against McClellan, that he was too cowardly to fight, that his heart was not in the cause, and that he had

no desire to submit his brother Democrats of the South to humiliating conquest. In his defense it was asserted that it was the rains and swamps that had turned him back. Some palliated his lack of achievement, declaring that politics in Washington had much to do with his inactivity, and that he was not left free by the national administration to take such action as he desired. Certain it is that he was baffled, and in the opinion of many only by the genius of the Confederate leader, General Robert E. Lee, who is ranked with General Grant among the country's greatest military commanders.

McClellan was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac and his troops assigned to the defense of Washington, while the other Union soldiers in eastern Virginia were consolidated into the Army of Virginia, under General Pope, the victor at Island Number 10 in the West. Having rendered his capital safe for the moment, Lee ventured away toward Washington and the North. His able general, Stonewall Jackson, defeated a part of the Union forces at Cedar Mountain, and Lee worsted Pope at the Second Battle of Bull Run.

The latter was then relieved of command and McClellan was restored to the head of the Army of the Potomac. Lee pressed on into Maryland in his first invasion of the North, but was turned back though not crushed by McClellan at Antietam, in one of the bloodiest battles of the war. McClellan failed for some reason to cut off Lee's retreat after Antietam, and December found the latter back again before Richmond. At Fredericksburg Lee dealt a crushing blow to the Federal forces under Burnside, who had succeeded McClellan and was attempting to march on Richmond from the north.



FIRST INVASION OF THE NORTH

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

President Lincoln at the outset of the war had disclaimed all intention of interfering with slavery in the states, and had announced that the sole purpose of the war was to save the Union. Congress displayed the same spirit in resolutions passed immediately after the defeat at Bull Run, which declared that "this war is not waged . . . in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those states, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease." "The Union forever," was one of the first and most popular songs of the Northern soldiers.

The original
purpose of
the war.

Yet an even more popular song ran, "John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." Should those men and women for whom John Brown died be delivered up again to slavery, when they escaped into the Northern lines? Thousands of blacks in the first year of the war came for protection to General Benjamin F. Butler, the Union commander at Fortress Monroe in Virginia, and to their masters who came within his lines to claim their property he refused to surrender the fugitives. Butler asserted that the blacks were contraband of war, that is, property which by the law of war might be confiscated as being useful to the enemy. The theory that slaves were property was thus cleverly turned against the South.

The growth
of sentiment
in favor of
emancipa-
tion.

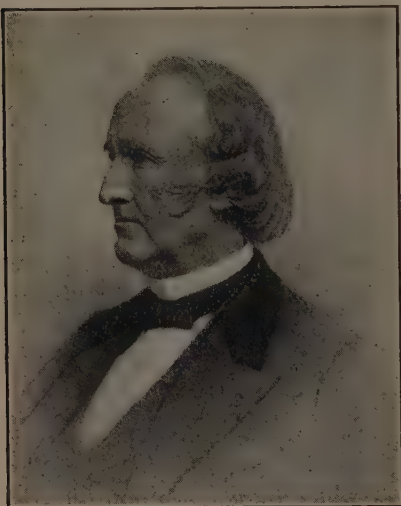
The radicals early besieged the President for an immediate proclamation of emancipation, urging that while the Constitution gave him no power directly to take the step, he could yet do it by virtue of his military powers as commander-in-chief, as a military measure and for military reasons. Back in the thirties, when the House of Representatives was debating the gag rule, John Quincy Adams had warned the South that the President of the United States would possess this power over their slaves if the country ever fell into civil war. General Frémont in Missouri in 1861 and General Hunter in South Carolina in 1862 rashly issued proclamations of their own, without the previous knowledge of the President, to free the slaves within their military districts; but their acts were promptly disavowed by Lincoln, who believed that if emancipation was to come, it should be uniform in its operation in all the opposing Southern States, and that such a uniform measure could

Arguments
for and
against eman-
cipation.

come only from himself. Lincoln wisely hesitated to take a step which would surely alienate a large number of his followers, and he was especially deterred by the necessity of holding true to the Union cause the Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, which still held their slaves and might be driven to the side of the Confederacy by too radical anti-slavery measures.

Meanwhile Lincoln pushed two plans of his own to solve the question of slavery in the Border States and to establish a precedent for the solution of the problem in the more southern states which the President still maintained owed obedience to him as the chief magistrate of the nation. His first proposition was that Congress should buy the slaves of the Border States for \$400 each, which, at the rate of the cost of the war

at that time, could be accomplished at an expense of eighty-seven days fighting, or about \$175,000,000. The slaveholders showed no disposition to accept the plan, and Congress made no appropriation to carry it out. The President's second plan, to remove the cause of the war root and branch by colonizing the negroes in some place out of the country, also failed to receive the approval of Congress. The negroes themselves were averse to this scheme, just as they had disliked the attempt of the American Colonization Society to remove them out of the United States to Liberia; and the radical anti-slavery element opposed the movement as less than jus-



WENDELL PHILLIPS

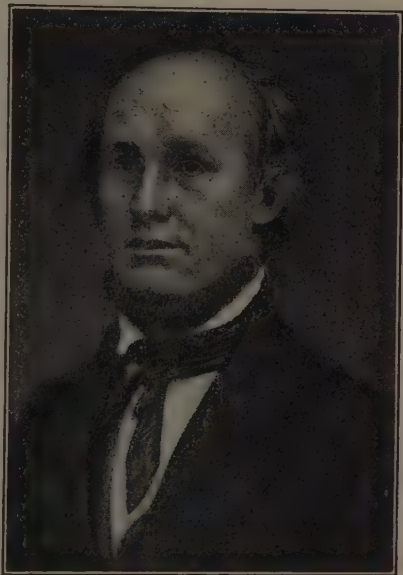
tice to the blacks after their long enforced servitude.

Congress meanwhile followed along slowly after the soul of John Brown, first by prohibiting slavery in the District of Columbia and paying the masters about \$300 for each slave, then by prohibiting slavery in the territories of the United States in spite of the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, by sanctioning a treaty with Great Britain for the more effective prevention of the foreign slave trade, and by passing

Compensated emancipation and colonization.

The anti-slavery measures of Congress.

laws for the confiscation of the property of Southerners in arms against the government. There were those who argued that in the confiscation laws the destruction of slavery was included. The laws were left vague on the point; yet it was plain that they meant to declare free all the slaves escaping into the Union lines and all who were required by their masters to aid the rebellion. Bitter indeed were the quarrels between the radical anti-slavery leaders on the one hand, led by William Lloyd Garrison of the *Liberator*, Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, Henry Ward Beecher of the *New York Independent*, Wendell Phillips, the orator of anti-slavery, and United States Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and the conservatives on the other, led by George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, and Horatio Seymour, elected governor of New York in 1862.



HORACE GREELEY

After McClellan's failure to take Richmond in the summer of 1862, the presidential policies of compensated emancipation and colonization having come to naught, Lincoln decided that it was necessary to strike the South a telling blow, and that for military reasons, if for no other, strong measures in regard to slavery were necessary. He announced to his cabinet that he had determined on the extreme step of emancipation, but that he would defer the issue of a Proclamation of Emancipation till there was a decided victory in the field to give it force. On the day following the battle of Antietam the President proclaimed his intention of freeing the slaves of the rebellious states in one hundred days, if the Southerners still held out against him at that time. His final Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863, issued "by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion," announced: "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves

The Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln.

CHASE

WELLES

SMITH

BLAIR



STANTON

LINCOLN

SEWALL

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET DISCUSSING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

BATES

within said designated states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."

The practical meaning of the proclamation was that it was the President's intention to free the Southern slaves if his armies, by

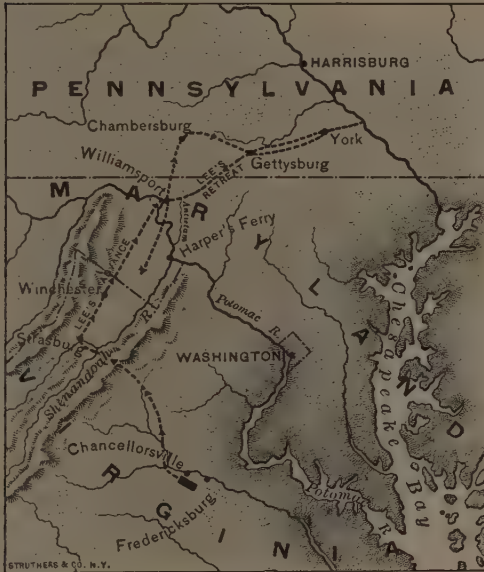
winning victories, would give him the opportunity.

Practical meaning of the proclamation.

Inasmuch as the whole South, elated at Lee's successes, was scoffing at the idea of the triumph of the North, the proclamation was to them at first an object of ridicule.

On the first day of the year, 1863, Lincoln began to accept into his armies all negroes, Northern and Southern alike, who would enlist. Previously the blacks of the South had performed the work of the plantations in the absence of their masters in the army. If these

The negroes enrolled as soldiers.



SCALE OF MILES
0 20 60 100
SECOND INVASION OF THE NORTH

blacks could be induced to run away, the Confederacy would be weakened by the loss of laborers; and if at the same time they could be brought to fight for the United States, the Union would be doubly benefited.

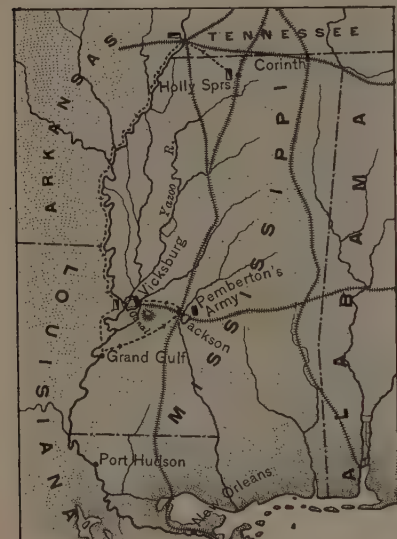
THE TURNING OF THE TIDE, 1863

B

In May, 1863, when the armies resumed fighting after leaving winter quarters, Lee a third time turned back the invading Northern army from his capital at Richmond, by an overwhelming victory over General Hooker at Chancellorsville, sixty miles north of Richmond, in eastern Virginia. Hooker was proving no more successful in command of the Union forces in Virginia than had McClellan and Burnside, and he was superseded by Meade.

The battle of Chancellorsville.

Emboldened by his victories, Lee left Richmond on his second attempt to invade the North, but he was decisively checked in a bloody battle at Gettysburg in southern Pennsylvania, July 1, 2, and 3. This was the only great engagement on free soil and is generally accounted the most important battle of the war. Each



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

army planted itself on a commanding height, and between these hills for two days the tide of battle surged back and forth. On the third day Lee took a tremendous chance and sent General Pickett with fifteen thousand men to charge on the Northerners under General Hancock on Cemetery Ridge. The men had to cross an open stretch a mile in width, where the Northern guns mowed them down; only a few succeeded in reaching the opposing lines. The Northerners had won, and the battle was over. The Unionists numbered about ninety thousand men in this battle, the Confederates seventy-five thousand; the total loss of the two sides was fifty-one thousand.

A memorable Fourth of July succeeded the victory, for on the

same day came the news from Vicksburg that this Gibraltar of the Mississippi had surrendered to General Grant, and that practically the entire river was in the hands of the Federals. Port Hudson, the last stronghold on the river to fall, surrendered within a few days. The Confederacy was cut in two, the Southern invasion of the North turned back, and the tide of success shifted to the Union.

The year closed with successful campaigning by the Union armies in Tennessee, where the Southern line was still being pushed back. General Bragg was compelled by General Rosecrans to abandon

Chattanooga, whither he had retreated from Murfreesboro, and this important railroad center came into Federal hands. Bragg then made a furious but unsuccessful onslaught upon Rosecrans at Chickamauga, near Chattanooga,

W. S. Hancock Hero of Gettysburg

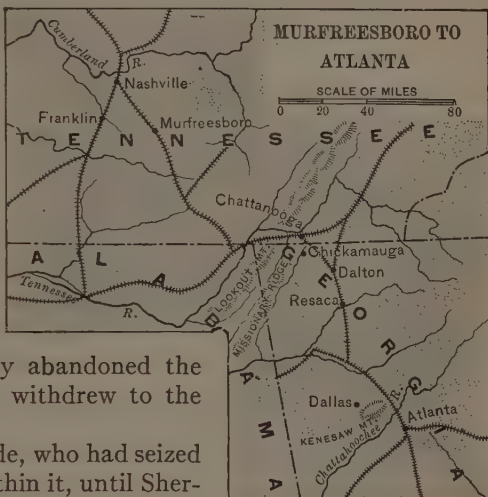
but through the firm stand of General Thomas, who held the Union center, the attack failed.

Important as Chattanooga might be, it was not pleasant for Rosecrans's successor, Thomas, and his army to be shut up in the city, as they were after this battle, by surrounding Confederate forces. Grant, who was in command of the Union armies in the West, proceeded to relieve the situation by seizing the strategic point of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, after which Bragg and his army abandoned the siege of Chattanooga and withdrew to the south.

In the same way Burnside, who had seized Knoxville, was besieged within it, until Sherman went to his relief and drove Longstreet and his besieging army into Virginia.

During the year 1863 violent opposition broke out in the North against the practice of drafting or forcing men into the army, which the government was at last finding necessary, in addition to the call for volunteers and the offer of bounties, in order to secure a sufficient number of recruits. For several days after Gettysburg New York City was in the hands of a mob, which showed its hatred of the draft by destroying millions of dollars' worth of property and killing scores of negroes whom they regarded as the cause of the country's woes. To put down the riot United States soldiers were obliged to adopt extreme measures, and killed or wounded more than a thousand people in the city streets. There were lesser outbreaks at about the same time in other cities, but no other riot in the history of the country has assumed such serious proportions.

Besides the disturbances over the draft, there was general dissatisfaction over the President's arbitrary methods of government. The Democrats with unsparing vigor assailed Lincoln's practice of suppressing newspapers which sympathized with the South, and his custom of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* and arbitrarily arresting thousands of people and keeping them in prison



The draft riots in the North.

Arbitrary government.

without informing them of the charges against them or giving them a hearing. The Democrats, sometimes called Copperheads for their opposition to the government and their alleged sympathy with the South, declared these measures to be contrary to the Constitution. Lincoln and the Republicans admitted the charge, but they claimed

that in the crisis they were justified in breaking the Constitution temporarily in order to save the Union, and that the Democrats ought not to be so impractical as to stand out for constitutional practices when the life of the nation was at stake. Said Lincoln: "I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed on me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means, that government, that nation, of which the Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be ampu-



NOT ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION

Cartoon from *Vanity Fair*.

Mr. Copperhead.—I know my house is on fire, just as well as you do. If you want to save it play on it from the outside as much as you choose, but I deny your right to enter without my permission; my house is my castle, and any attempt to enter it by force is clearly unconstitutional.

tated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution altogether."

The blockade of the Southern ports by the Union navy perceptibly tightened its hold during the year 1863, while in turn the small Southern navy, ranging free on the ocean outside the blockade, grew more active in its attacks on Northern commerce. The war on the ocean.

The most famous of these vessels was the *Alabama*, which was in the habit of sailing falsely under British colors till she came close to a Union vessel, when she would suddenly hoist her true colors and call for surrender. Deprived by the blockade of the opportunity of taking her numerous prizes into a home port, and forbidden by the neutrality rules of international law to take them into foreign ports, she was accustomed to strip the captive vessels of everything of value and then fire them or set them adrift. Her prisoners she freed in neutral ports. During the last part of 1862, throughout 1863, and for six months in 1864, the *Alabama* sailed the seas, the terror of Northern commerce. In June, 1864, she was sunk by the Union man-of-war, the *Kearsarge*, after an encounter off the coast of France, and the hazards of Northern commerce were appreciably lessened.

The damage wrought by the *Alabama* and her kindred ships was perhaps the most disastrous blow struck by the war upon any Northern interest. The commerce of the Atlantic, largely in the hands of the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century, had to a large extent been transferred to foreign ships when the wars of Great Britain and France were at an end and capital in the United States turned to



AN ARGUMENT FOR THE USE OF NEGRO SOLDIERS

Cartoon from *Vanity Fair*.

Gentleman of Color.—“Yah! Yah! Darkey hab de best ob it now. Dar's de White Man's draft, and here's de Niggah's!”

The disappearance of the merchant marine of the United States.

manufacturing. By the year 1861 the ships of foreign nations carried almost one-half of the commerce of the United States, and by 1865 the proportion had risen to three-fourths. The rapidity of the change in the short period of four years, 1861-1865, was largely due to the depredations of the Confederate ships. Twenty-five of these cruisers succeeded in capturing two hundred and eighty-four vessels of Northern commerce, worth, including their cargoes, \$25,000,000. The captures of the *Alabama* alone numbered eighty-four. Many Northern vessels, afraid to venture on the sea as merchantmen, went into government transport service, more than one thousand of them gave up the protection of the flag of the United States and registered themselves as British vessels under the British flag, while only a few retained their registry as United States vessels. The merchant marine of the United States, that is, vessels of commerce sailing under the stars and stripes, has never recovered from the blow, and it is this situation which from the days of the war down to the present time has furnished the basis of the demand for a ship subsidy, or a grant of money from the national treasury, to encourage commercial vessels to come again under the flag of the United States and win back the nation's lost supremacy in the carrying trade on the ocean.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the outbreak of hostilities the majority of the ruling classes of Great Britain undoubtedly beheld with satisfaction the impending
The unfriendly attitude of Great Britain toward the United States.
 downfall of the great republic. They disapproved of the Morrill Tariff Law, passed in 1861, which imposed slightly increased rates; they chafed at the commercial prestige of the "Giant of the West," and from long habit as loyal subjects of the Crown they could not dismiss the rancor engendered by the War of American Independence and nurtured by the War of 1812.

The British recognition of the Confederates as belligerents was considered by the Federal government as an unfriendly act, and the
Breaking the blockade.
 eagerness of the British to continue their trade relations with the Southern States after the outbreak of the war was viewed by the North in general as a further exhibition of the same spirit. On all possible occasions they broke through the blockade with their ships, brought in supplies, took out cotton, and undoubtedly in this way prolonged the war many months. To a large extent the commercial houses of Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and other British manufacturing centers helped to support the Southern people, while the latter made war on the United States. Said Earl Russell,

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons in London, "It has been a most profitable business to send swift vessels to break or run the blockade of the Southern ports, and carry their cargoes into those ports. . . . I understand that every cargo that runs the blockade and enters Charleston is worth a million dollars, and that the profit on these transactions is immense. It is well known that the trade has attracted a great deal of attention in this country from those who have a keen eye to such gains, and that vessels have been sent to Nassau in order to break the blockade at Charleston, Wilmington, and other places, and carry contraband of war into some of the ports of the Southern States." Earl Russell added that it was no violation of international law for his fellow-citizens to run the blockade and to sell contraband of war to the belligerents, as the neutral Americans themselves had maintained during the British wars against Napoleon when the practice had brought them millions of dollars.

Rancor against Great Britain was at its height in the United States, when in November, 1861, the *Trent* affair occurred. Captain Wilkes of the United States war vessel *San Jacinto* stopped the British mail steamer *Trent* and removed from her by force Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners to Great Britain and France respectively, whose especial mission it was to obtain, if possible, recognition from these countries of the independence of the Confederacy. The captives were imprisoned in Fort Warren in Boston harbor. The seizure was dangerously near the old British practice of the right of search, exercised now against Great Britain herself, and the British prepared for war. The question was thrust home on President Lincoln whether he would have two wars on his hands at once, and wisely, like President Polk in the similar crisis of the forties, he decided that one war at a time was enough and surrendered the prisoners on demand. Certain leaders of public opinion insisted on retaining Mason and Slidell, but they were overborne by the President's good sense. In the correspondence with the British Foreign Secretary, Secretary Seward adroitly congratulated the British on having come to the American point of view in regard to the right of search. Mason and Slidell went on their way, but their errand was fruitless.

Not only political expediency, but also the plain requirements of international law dictated the surrender of the captured commissioners. Mason and Slidell, as official representatives of their country, were indeed subject to capture, first as contraband of war, and second, because they had disregarded the blockade in making their escape from the Confederacy to join the *Trent* in Cuba; but these two considerations Captain Wilkes thought-

*The Trent
affair.*

*The inter-
national law
of the case.*

lessly renounced by an illegal method of capture. Instead of taking the captives off the *Trent* and allowing the ship with the rest of her cargo to proceed on her way, to be within legal limits he should have brought both the ship and the cargo into a prize court of the United States and there have secured a condemnation of Mason and Slidell by regular judicial action.

The sudden increase of ill feeling in the North against Great Britain, which now arose from the belief that Her Majesty had taken an unfair

The conciliatory attitude of President Lincoln towards Great Britain.

advantage of the United States when its hands were tied by civil war, President Lincoln did not attempt to foster, but for the permanent advantage of his country did everything in his power to dissipate. He consciously proceeded in the early months of 1862 to conciliate the anti-slavery element of Great Britain by making with that country a strict treaty for the suppression of the foreign slave trade on the coast of Africa, and as a sign of the new determination of the national government at last to lay the strong hands of the law on the abhorrent traffic, one Nathaniel Gordon was convicted and executed for engaging in the trade. The President refused executive clemency to the culprit, though the extreme penalty had never before been exacted for the offense. Next came Lincoln's efforts to colonize the blacks outside the country and his offer to buy the slaves of the Border States, followed soon by the Emancipation Proclamation, which conclusive proof that the United States had at last put the war on an anti-slavery basis rendered it impossible for the freedom-loving British to offer open aid to the Confederacy. Their national conscience would not tolerate interference in the affairs of another country in the interests of human slavery.

There was a serious point of difference also between the two countries over the fitting out of Confederate vessels in the ports of Great

The fitting out of the Confederate war vessels in Great Britain.

Britain. Number "290" was constructed in the shipyards of Liverpool, was allowed to get away and on the sea to receive her equipment and armament of war, and then to sail the seas as the *Alabama*; the *Florida* was also built in Liverpool, and after issuing from that port was allowed to take on men, supplies, and armament; the *Shenandoah* sailed from London, and in Melbourne, Australia, secretly enlisted men. These and the other commerce destroyers of the Confederacy, practically the entire navy of the Southerners, were obtained by the South in the supposedly neutral British ports, in spite of the fact that the British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, drawn on the model of Washington's Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 and the

United States Neutrality Act of 1794, definitely forbade the furnishing of ships to belligerents for use against a nation with which Great Britain was at peace. The United States Minister in London, Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams and grandson of John Adams, pointed out the obvious destination of the vessels and solemnly called upon the British to enforce their own law. As ship after ship got away from English ports for the Confederacy, it seemed as if the alleged neutrality of Great Britain were a farce, and when in 1863 two ironclad rams were ready to leave Minister Adams wrote to Lord Russell, "It would be superfluous for me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." The implied threat was successful, the rams did not sail, and no more British vessels reached the Confederacy. After the war Great Britain paid dearly for her aid and comfort to the "lost cause."

Another serious problem in connection with foreign affairs concerned Mexico. After the war with Mexico in the forties that country had experienced almost constant civil strife, in the course of which citizens of the United States and of several European states had been violently and unjustly treated. The demand for intervention and redress of grievances at last became general, and France, Great Britain, and Spain joined their forces and invaded Mexico with a military expedition late in 1861 to exact satisfaction. Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces after a short time, but France continued the castigation. She conquered the Mexicans and in spite of the warnings of the United States set up over them in 1864 what was practically a French monarchy, with Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, as Emperor. The Congress of the United States passed a resolution of protest. "Resolved, that the Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico; therefore they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the sentiment of the people of the United States to acknowledge that a monarchical government may be erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power." The national convention of the Republican party passed an even stronger resolution on the subject.

The French well knew that the United States was in no position to enforce the Monroe Doctrine against them, and the new monarchy temporarily went on its course, while the United States reserved the visitation of its wrath till a later day.

The French
in Mexico.

The tempo-
rary success
of the French.

B

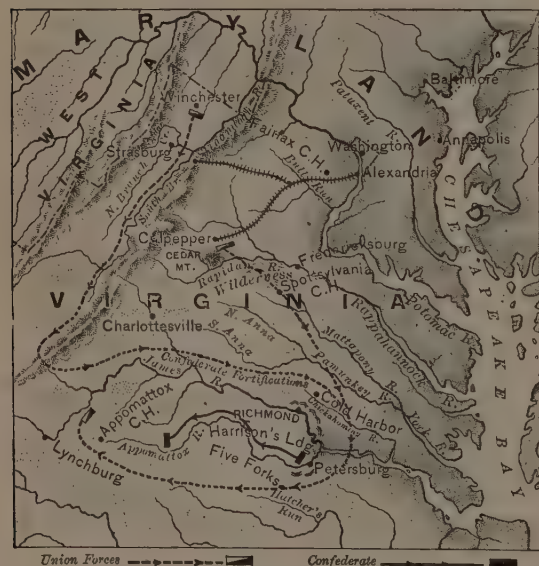
THE WAR AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864

The close connection between the war and politics.

The Confederacy's only political contest had taken place late in 1861, when Jefferson Davis was unanimously elected President under the Permanent Constitution for a term of six years, but the North was confronted with the necessity of a presidential contest in the critical year of 1864, when the outcome of the political struggle depended almost entirely on the fortunes of war.

Fighting in 1864 began in May. General Grant, fresh from his victories in the West and South, was placed by President Lincoln in command of all the Union forces in the field. Grant left Sherman in command of the armies around Chattanooga, and himself came to Virginia to try his skill against Richmond. His policy was to take the Southern capital from the north, and to the President he announced: "I will fight

it out on this line if it takes all summer." He fought the exhausting but indecisive battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and after six weeks of almost continuous struggle he gave up the attempt to approach Richmond from the north, transferred his army to the south of the James, and settled down to the siege of Petersburg. Like McClellan in 1862, Grant had at last decided to approach Richmond from the south.



OPERATIONS IN THE EAST

when the Northern people were keyed up to the top notch of war excitement, President Lincoln was renominated by the Republican

Fighting before Richmond, 1864.

In the trying month of May, 1864,

party, with its accessions of War Democrats now often called the Union party, for the office of President, and Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat and loyal Union Governor of Tennessee, was named for the vice presidency. The platform adopted heartily supported the war and demanded a constitutional amendment to follow up the Emancipation Proclamation and provide for the freedom of the slaves not only in the hostile Southern States but in every state of the Union.

The renom-
ination of
President
Lincoln.

It was a dramatic situation, the outcome of which depended almost entirely on the issue of battles still unfought. If victory should come to the standards of the North, the Republicans would have the advantage, but if there should be no victories in the field for the Union and the already long-drawn-out war should become more unpopular, the Democrats would have their chance. Weeks passed after the Republican convention, bringing not only no victories to clear the atmosphere but at last in their stead a decided repulse of the Union forces at Petersburg, which Grant attempted to take by assault on the thirtieth of July. To capture the outpost, Grant's forces had constructed a mine underneath the town at great labor. The mine was exploded and much havoc wrought, but in the confusion the Union soldiers failed in their efforts to make their way into the stronghold. A deep gloom settled down on the supporters of the war. Still Grant would not waver, and Lincoln approved, telegraphing in characteristic fashion, "Hold on with a bull-dog grip and chew and choke as much as possible." Some now believed that the President could not possibly be reëlected and called upon him to decline the renomination and make room for another to lead the party; even Lincoln himself recorded his belief that he would be defeated.

The despon-
dency of the
Republicans.

The Democrats met in national convention during this tense situation and gave their nomination to General McClellan, the deposed idol of the Army of the Potomac, no longer in active command, and wrote into their platform the daring words, "Four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war." Then, like a burst of light in the darkness, came the exciting announcement of General Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and the news was telegraphed to the despairing Republican hosts one day after the adjournment of the Democratic convention! One day only did the Democrats enjoy their platform and then its very bottom dropped out, and the gloom of the Republicans was turned into the wildest enthusiasm.

The Demo-
cratic nomi-
nation and
the capture
of Atlanta.

For four months Sherman with 100,000 soldiers had been battling his way from Chattanooga through the mountains of southern Ten-

nessee and northern Georgia, his every step contested by 75,000 Confederates. Atlanta, his objective, was the railroad and manufacturing center of the Confederacy, a collecting and distributing point for supplies of all kinds, and its loss was a tremendous blow to the Confederacy.

The enthusiasm of the supporters of the war which was now kindled was sustained to the day

Other timely of election by a series
victories. of other timely victo-

ries. General Sheridan, in three battles in the Shenandoah Valley, worsted General Early, who had sought by a raid through this valley in the direction of Washington to turn Grant away from Richmond. Sheridan followed up his victories by laying waste the rich valley so completely that no further invasion through that area was to be feared. After his men had finished their work of destruction it was said that "a crow in flying from Staunton to Winchester must carry his rations."

Rear Admiral Farragut, too, achieved a brilliant victory for the Union in Mobile Bay, which closed that important center for blockade running, the Confederacy's last stronghold on the Gulf.



WILLIAM T. SHERMAN

The vote in the electoral colleges stood 212 for Lincoln to 21 for McClellan, the latter carrying but the three states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. Lincoln's sweeping victory at the polls encouraged the soldiers to fight more valiantly than ever, and the danger of official repudiation of the Emancipation Proclamation and of the cessation of the war before the South was thoroughly conquered was averted.

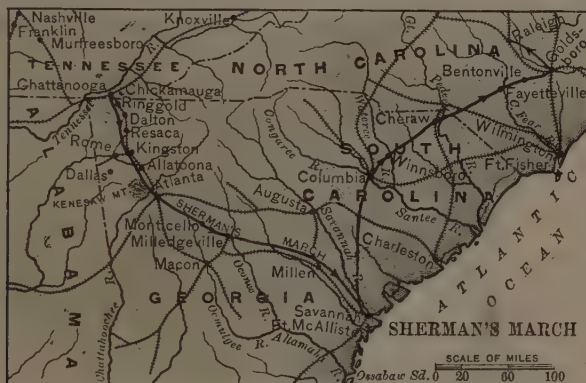
THE END OF THE WAR

→ Election day was hardly over when Sherman burned the captured city of Atlanta and plunged into the heart of the Confederacy through the state of Georgia, out of all communication with the North and

May 1865

with his own base of supplies, on his famous "March to the Sea." The Confederate forces under Hood, whose business it was to oppose Sherman while Lee operated against Grant in Virginia, attempted to turn him back from this move; but Sherman boldly divided his forces and left Thomas to engage Hood. Thomas fulfilled the charge and utterly routed his opponent at Nashville.

The last
blows.



Sherman's army found no military force to oppose it, and marched in a devastating journey, eating and burning its way in a swath sixty miles wide across Georgia to the sea. In four weeks Sherman presented the city of Savannah to the nation as a Christmas present, and then turned on his way up the coast toward Grant in Virginia, prepared to catch Lee if the latter tried to escape to the south.

Early in the spring of 1865 Sheridan's vigilant cavalry cut off Lee's supplies on the west and south of Richmond; and while Lee was striking back at Sheridan, Grant slipped into the long-besieged town of Petersburg and forced Lee to abandon Richmond. These stirring events took place in the first week of April, 1865. Lee tried to escape to the south and join General Joseph Johnston, who was at the head of a Confederate force in North Carolina between Sherman and Grant; but he was cut off by the Union troops and forced to surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, while Johnston surrendered to Sherman on April 26.

The surren-
der of Lee
and Johnston.

The week from the capture of Petersburg and Richmond to the surrender of Lee was one of tremendous excitement, comparable only to the week of excitement in April four years earlier, ushered in by the firing on Fort Sumter. In 1861 on both sides were foreboding and dread; now in 1865 on the one

The last
week of the
war.

side was the excitement of victory, and on the other the despair of recognized defeat.

Within a week after the surrender at Appomattox Court House the joy of the North was turned into mourning by the shocking news that an actor, John Wilkes Booth, a half-crazed Southern sympathizer, who did not realize that Lincoln was the South's best friend, and that the wisdom and moderation of the President would be sadly needed in the solution of the problems that were to follow, had entered the box where the President was sitting in Ford's theater in Washington and shot him through the head. The leader was struck down in the hour of triumph. The poet, Walt Whitman, voiced the anguish of the North in the lines:

**The assassina-
tion of
President
Lincoln.**

"O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

"O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up — for you the flag is flung — for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths — for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;
Here Captain! dear father!
This arm beneath your head!
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead."

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;
Exult O shores, and ring O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

The President's assassin fled from Washington by night across the Potomac into Virginia, where he was overtaken and shot in a barn by Union soldiers after a pursuit of twelve days. The treasonable and murderous plot embraced other members of the government. Simultaneously with the President's assassination, an assailant stabbed but did not kill Secretary of State Seward as he lay ill in bed; the man was apprehended, tried by a court martial, and hanged, as was a would-be assassin of

**The fate of
Booth and
his fellow-
conspirators.**

Vice President Johnson, who also failed of his purpose. Four conspirators in all, including one woman, went to the gallows; three were imprisoned for life and one for six years. B

Both houses of Congress and in due season three-fourths of the states followed up the military triumph by giving their formal consent to the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which reads as follows: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, save as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The Emancipation Proclamation had not freed the slaves in the loyal Border States nor in certain parts of Louisiana which had been brought back to allegiance to the United States by conquest. The amendment, on the other hand, applied to every part of the United States; it insured freedom to all blacks in the country and could be changed only by another amendment. The Dred Scott Decision, which looked toward the legalizing of slavery in the territories and probably in the states as well, was now devoid of all force.

In the more than two thousand engagements of the war, probably 360,000 men on the Union side and over 250,000 on the Confederate side lost their lives. The expense of the conflict to the United States was \$3,250,000,000 above the ordinary expenses of civil administration. In 1865 the national debt was \$2,997,000,000, bearing the huge annual interest of \$140,000,000. The cost of the war on the Southern side is unknown.

As in the time of the Revolution and ever since that time, foreign immigrants in the crisis of the Civil War rendered distinguished services to their adopted country. The patriotic Germans in the critical months in 1861 in Missouri turned the tide in that state in favor of the Union. Thousands of the newcomers were in both armies, more, undoubtedly, in the ranks of the Northern States, which had always attracted the foreigners in greater numbers than did the Southern States. There were whole regiments of men in the Union army unable to speak the English language. Of the 31,000,000 people inhabiting the country in 1860, 4,000,000, or approximately thirteen per cent, were foreign born.

THE NORTHERN AND THE SOUTHERN LEADERS

The leader of the North during the war period was President Abraham Lincoln. He was born of poor parents February 12, 1809, in a log hut in the slave state of Kentucky, and was reared on the frontier in the free state of Illinois, where

The thirteenth amendment of the Constitution.

The cost of the war.

The services of foreigners in the war.

Abraham Lincoln.

he was successively rail-splitter, flatboatman, clerk in the country grocery store, and captain in the state militia, until by his own efforts he succeeded in obtaining sufficient education to practice law. Beyond membership in his own state legislature and one term in the national



BIRTHPLACE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

House of Representatives at Washington during the Mexican war, he had no official training for the chief magistracy. Sometimes as President he proved unfortunate in his choice of advisers, occasionally his favorite measures failed of enactment in Congress, such, for example, as compensated emancipation in the Border States and the colonization of the negroes outside the

United States, and from time to time he made mistakes. His use of the patronage was certainly not in accordance with the standards of the civil service of the present day. Yet in spite of his limitations and mistakes he was the greatest President since the time of Washington, and by his broad sympathies, his firmness, judgment, patience, freedom from resentment, and tact, he brought the ship of state safely through the troubled waters. Nature endowed him with a keen intellect, a large heart, a strong will, and a gentleness of character that enabled him to command at the same time the love and the respect of his fellowmen.

The principles which he gave to the nation in his second inaugural address were the mainspring of his own life: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Without the education of the schools, Lincoln, by the study of the Bible and Shakespeare, made himself a master in the use of the English language. Speaking at the battlefield of Gettysburg, November 19, 1863, on the occasion of its dedication as a national soldiers' cemetery, he followed Edward Everett, the polished orator of the schools, in words that are now classic, while those of Everett are forgotten. "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in

Lincoln's
second
inaugural
address.

Lincoln's
oration at
Gettysburg.

liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far beyond our poor power to add or to detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which

they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

The greatest military leader of the North was General Ulysses S. Grant. Born in Ohio in 1822, he received the nation's military training at West Point, but after active service in the Mexican War retired from the army to civil life. At thirty-nine years of age, when the first call to arms came in 1861, he was a clerk in a saddlery and harness shop in Galena, Illinois. His advance in military command was steady throughout the war. Though not rapid and brilliant in his movements on the field of battle, he was always sure, and the results justified his promotion in every case. His tenacity overcame every obstacle.

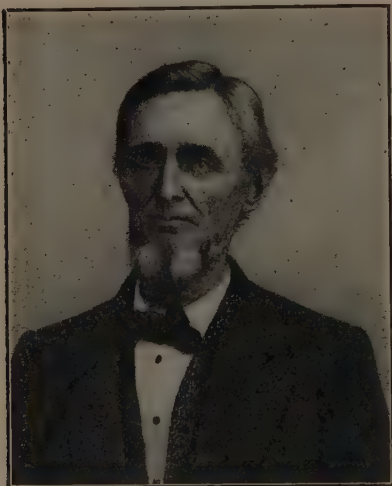


ULYSSES S. GRANT

General
Ulysses S.
Grant.

Jefferson Davis, the one President of the Confederacy, was born in Kentucky in 1808, a few miles from the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. Both families early moved from the state, the one to free Illinois and the other to the slave state of Mississippi. After his education at West Point, Davis saw several years of

active service in the army and then resigned to enter politics. He was Secretary of War under Pierce and later United States Senator from Mississippi. When called to the presidency of the Confederacy, it was by unanimous choice. Gifted with a wonderful capacity for hard work, he allowed scarcely a detail of administration to be intrusted to subordinates. He possessed qualities of leadership that held the confidence and maintained the courage of the people through the dark days which his section was called upon to endure. In the bitterness that followed the assassination of President Lincoln, Davis was suspected of complicity in the crime and



JEFFERSON DAVIS

was subjected to much unjust humiliation; but he was fully cleared of the charges in the minds of all fair-minded citizens. His name is now remembered as that of a pure-minded patriot, who followed the right as he saw it. He lived till 1889, attended in his last years by misfortune and sorrow.

General Robert E. Lee, the South's greatest military leader, was born in Virginia in 1807, one year before Jefferson Davis, two years before Abraham Lincoln, and fifteen years before his antagonist, Ulysses S. Grant. He had a military education at West Point, saw service in the regular army during the Mexican War, and when secession came was still in the army as a lieutenant colonel. It was from a sense of duty that he refused an offer of high command in the Federal army and linked his fortunes with those of his native state. To a friend he wrote, when the storm broke, "I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hands against my relatives, my children, my home." His wonderful defense of Richmond entitles him to rank among the world's greatest defensive commanders.

General
Robert E.
Lee.

When he surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, his greatness of mind and heart were as conspicuous as in his brighter days. He might easily have dragged out a weak resistance in the mountains, perhaps for years, but recognizing that the Confederacy was doomed, for the good of his country he laid down his arms. Equally great at the historic moment, Grant asked the Southerners to go home and go to work, and he allowed them to take their horses with them, for, as he said, "they would need them in the spring plowing." Lee loyally accepted the results of the war and earnestly advised his countrymen to take the same course. From 1865 till his death in 1870 he was president of a small college of less than half a hundred students in Lexington, Virginia, then called Washington College, but since, in his honor, known as Washington and Lee University.



ROBERT E. LEE

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The activities of the nation during the war period were far from being confined to the field of battle and the political arena. The people at home were engaged in their ordinary pursuits as well as in the extraordinary labors that fell to them as their part in the great struggle. As soon as men began to go to war, the women of the North organized themselves into small local societies to provide the soldiers with the extra articles of clothing and the delicacies of food that the government could not furnish; and shortly the United States Sanitary Commission was formed to carry on such work in more systematic fashion.

The United
States
Sanitary
Commission.

Under the guidance of this Commission the conditions of camp life were improved, assistance was given in caring for the wounded on the field of battle, and the work of the hospitals was furthered. The people were called upon to raise money for the cause and to furnish

provisions of various kinds. Upon the capture of Atlanta in 1864, the first telegram sent to the North by the agents of the Commission ran, "We are established in this place; hurry on large quantities of vegetables." A certain small town in Illinois, after such a call, sent to the front five hundred bushels of potatoes; and many a similar contribution came from the "onion days" and "potato days" of the public schools and the "onion funds" of the large city newspapers. The school boys and girls of a small New England city, urged one year to devote their Fourth of July fire-cracker money to buy oranges and lemons for the soldiers, raised \$543.43. A captain of the 104th Illinois in the dead of winter sent home a letter, which was read in the churches of a little village in that state, stating that one-half of the regiment were without socks, and on Monday morning two hundred and seventy-five pairs were dispatched to the men by mail. To the twenty-five thousand who had been wounded in the battle of Gettysburg the Sanitary Commission distributed \$75,000 worth of food and clothing, including such delicacies as could be brought to them, — tea, coffee, poultry, butter, eggs, bread, milk, oranges, lemons, and ice; and in the Wilderness campaign in 1864 more than \$500,000 was similarly expended by the Commission. More than three million dollars was raised for the work by the soldiers' fairs which were held in the different cities and towns.

The United States Christian Commission, in its self-imposed task of caring for the moral and religious condition of the army, through the holding of religious services, the distribution of Bibles, tracts, and other literature, and the ministration to the various needs of the soldiers in the hospitals, expended \$6,000,000. Upon the families of the soldiers millions were expended, raised by private organizations through voluntary subscription, and by city and state through taxation. Never before had so much been done in a great war for the care and comfort of the private soldier and his dependents.

B During the war the business interests of the North passed first through a period of severe panic and then through one of great prosperity. In the excitement produced by the election of Lincoln and the secession of the Southern States, the country was plunged into a panic similar to that of 1857.

The prospective loss of the trade of the South, which bought heavily in the North, and the certain loss of the \$300,000,000 already due, which the Southern Congress formally declared was not to be paid, were more than a large number of firms could weather, and many went to the wall. The unsettled state of the public mind, always attending

The battle-field service of the Commission.

The United States Christian Commission and other national charities.

The financial panic of 1860-1861.

the outbreak of a war, added to the gloom of the business world. The banks, too, unmindful of the lessons of the panic of 1837 and 1857, were maintaining in their vaults too small cash reserves for the payment of their notes, and in several of the northwestern states they were unfortunately basing their issues of notes on the worthless bonds of the seceded states. Eighty-nine out of the one hundred and ten banks of Illinois closed their doors, while the city of Chicago lost practically all its banking capital.

Gradually in the year 1862 a wave of prosperity set in, which continued to the end of the war. Business adjusted itself to the altered conditions, and the heavy contracts given out by the government to manufacturers in every section of the country for the equipment of the army and navy, and the increase in prices that followed the issue of paper money by the government, contributed to the commercial revival.

Gradual
recovery
from the
panic.

Rich new mines of gold were opened up in Idaho and Montana during the war, and mining industry in general flourished. The agricultural output was greater than ever, for high prices, a ready market in Europe, and the special demands of the army held out unusual inducements to farmers to increase production in every possible way. Abundantly supplied with raw material from the mines and the farms, and well served by the railroads and water transportation systems, manufacturing was also on the increase. The woolen mills were called upon to supply material for the uniforms of the soldiers, the shoe factories to make their shoes, and the iron and steel mills to turn out munitions of war. The output of sewing machines and of other new inventions just coming into general use increased tremendously, and, as might be expected, the manufacture of reapers and other labor-saving devices, to do the work of the men absent in the army, was especially stimulated.

Agricultural,
mining, and
manufacturing
prosperity.

City after city inaugurated its first street railway system of horse cars, and installed its first fire alarm telegraph and steam fire engines; the larger cities secured free delivery of mail, and the post office money order system and the railway post office first went into operation during the period.

Local im-
provements.

Ordinary deposit banks, savings banks, and insurance companies found the times prosperous. It was easy to induce people to loan money to the government; in one year purchasers were readily found for its bonds to the amount of \$500,000,000 and in another year to the extent of \$850,000,000. Flourishing business conditions, as well as a loyal recognition of the necessity of a large revenue for waging the war, brought it about, too, that extremely

Flourishing
finances.

heavy internal taxation on manufactured goods and on the various trades and professions, a heavy tax on incomes, and higher tariff rates were borne ungrudgingly.

The Walker Tariff Act of 1846 had been succeeded by another law of moderate rates in 1857, after which, under the influence of the two panics of 1857 and 1860-1861, the tide set in toward higher tariff rates. To satisfy depressed business interests, the Morrill Tariff, with higher rates, was put on the statute books in 1861 before the war opened. After April, 1861, when, to the usual arguments in favor of high protection, the war added the special argument of the necessity of securing increased revenue with which to meet the vast expenses of the operations of the army and navy, special tariff acts, imposing higher rates on various articles, were enacted in every session of Congress down to 1865, when the tariff rates reached the highest point in the history of the country to that time.

The banking system, which had been in the hands of the states since the time of Andrew Jackson and was responsible for the evils of the wild-cat notes in 1860-1861, was changed by the passage of the National Banking Act of 1863, which provided for a new system of banks chartered by the United States instead of by the states. Under this act the new national banks were to be governed, not by a central board of directors at Washington, as were the first and second banks of the United States, but each by its own local board of directors under the general supervision of the comptroller of the currency in Washington; and, unlike the former national banks, the new banks were not to enjoy the privilege of holding on deposit the money of the United States. Government receipts were still to be kept in the vaults of the treasury at Washington and in the subtreasuries in various cities. The new institutions were to issue their notes to circulate as money, but these notes, unlike those of the wild-cat state banks, were to be secured, first, by a deposit of United States bonds in the treasury at Washington, and second, by a cash reserve of twenty-five per cent of its liabilities, which was to be maintained by each bank in its own vaults for purposes of redemption. In order to force the banks to give up their state charters and come under the national law, a very heavy tax was later levied by Congress on state bank issues, and almost all the banks of the country took out national charters.

There was no gold or silver in circulation as money at this period. These coins had been supplanted by the paper notes of the banks, by the paper fractional currency, and by the paper promises of the United States, known as "greenbacks." The "greenbacks," by the legal

tender law made lawful money, were like the old paper money used during and after the War of Independence; they had no gold or silver back of them, and therefore they went up and down in value, when measured in gold, as the people gained or lost confidence in the ability of the government to make the notes good. When battles went against the government and the people had little confidence that it would ever be able to meet its obligations, the notes fell in value, whereas victories sent their value up.

The fluctuating "greenback" currency.

As a result of the shifting value of the greenbacks and the consequent rise and fall in prices, the profits of the speculators and the merchants who had commodities to sell were huge, but balanced over against these advantages to a few were certain evils, such as the lagging wages of laborers and of all who lived on salaries, for wages never rise as rapidly as prices.

Results of the unstable currency.

Education suffered but little. Vassar College, the first adequately equipped institution of collegiate rank for women in the history of the country, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell University, Lehigh University, the University of Kansas, and various other higher institutions of learning were founded in spite of the war. The public schools were filled to overflowing. No matter how fierce the struggle on the field of battle, no matter how tremendous the popular excitement in the North, the school bell rang out as usual in the first week of September, and day after day thereafter summoned the youth of the land in ever-increasing numbers to their daily tasks.

The cause of education.

The circus, the theater, and the opera, every form of amusement and luxury, were never more popular. "Extravagance, luxury, these are the signs of the times," declared the editor of the *New York Evening Post*. "Who at the North would ever think of war, if he had not a friend in the army or did not read the newspapers? Go into Broadway and we will show you what is meant by extravagance. Ask Stewart about the demand for camel's-hair shawls, and he will say 'monstrous.' Ask Tiffany what kind of diamonds are called for. He will answer, 'the prodigious,' 'as near hen's-egg size as possible,' 'price no object.'"

Amusements and extravagance.

Life in the South during the epoch was affected by two great blights from which the North was free, — the blockade and the devastation of invading armies. With the usual shipments both from Europe and from the Northern States cut off, articles of necessity as well as of luxury became scarce. These could not be manufactured in the South itself, because there was neither oppor-

Life in the Confederacy.



VASSAR COLLEGE IN 1865

tunity nor means for building the necessary factories and securing the needed machinery, nor men enough to carry on the work. Tobacco as well as cotton almost ceased to have value on account of the lack of an outside market, and both products were destroyed in large quantities to prevent their falling into the hands of the invaders, while the planters from necessity turned to the cultivation of the more useful wheat and corn. The boast that "Cotton was king," and that to secure it for their factories the British would break the blockade and recognize the independence of the Confederacy was never realized. On the other hand, Great Britain suffered from failure of crops for three successive years, and in her need she found the wheat of the United States well nigh indispensable. The very year when her importations of wheat from the United States were at their highest, almost no cotton at all arrived from the Confederacy.

The South could boast of no extensive gold, silver, copper, or iron mines, nor of petroleum wells and extensive supplies of salt. Her railroads fell to pieces for want of repairs. She continued to care for education as she had time and money; her soldiers and their families she cared for, so far as she was able, and, like the North, when she could she buried herself in pleasures and amusements. Dire want, however, gave little opportunity for extravagance, and by 1864 and 1865 even the richest families were enduring the most trying privations. No immigrants came to her shores from abroad, and she herself contributed little to the settlement of a Confederate frontier in the West.

Severe
privations.

One fundamental reason for the success of the North is plain. The Confederacy went down, not from the inferior ability of her generals and soldiers, for here she was the equal of her rival, but largely because she was overborne by superior resources. The prosperous North raised taxes more easily and in greater amounts, and could send more men to the field of battle, and clothe and equip them better. The war proved that while a purely agricultural society, like that of the Southern States, devoted almost entirely to one industry and consequently dependent on the outside world for many necessities, could live well and happily in time of peace, it could not maintain itself indefinitely during the strain of blockade and invading armies.

Industrial
supremacy
of the Union.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Did Lincoln make a mistake in sending the relief expedition to Fort Sumter? Did Davis make a mistake in ordering his troops to fire on Sumter? Was Lincoln's declaration of a blockade a mistake? Compare the North's insistence on holding the Mississippi with that of the frontiersmen of Kentucky and Tennessee on holding the same river from 1783 to 1795. What was the importance of sea power during the war? What were the services of Stonewall Jackson to the Confederacy? What was Lincoln's Border State policy? What arguments can you give for and against the use of negro soldiers in the Union army? Compare the generalship of Grant and Lee, of Nathaniel Greene and Stonewall Jackson. What was Lincoln's policy toward Great Britain? Give a history of the Monroe Doctrine down to 1865. What would have been the probable effect on the outcome of the war of the election of McClellan? How do you account for the surrender by the states to the United States of the control of the banking system, which the states had won in the days of Jackson? What was the fundamental reason for the success of the Union? What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaign of 1864? State the difference between McClellan's and Grant's plans for the capture of Richmond. In what important respects did conditions in the South differ from those in the North in 1860?

1865 - 1900
*'new Nationalism and new
Democracy'*

PART VII

AN ERA OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER XXIV

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

THE NEW ERA

IN the crisis 1861-1865, the necessity of withdrawing millions of men from the productive pursuits of peace and supporting them in the destructive work of war made unusual demands upon the nation and called forth or suggested new methods of developing and making use of its natural resources. The vast riches of the United States had never been appreciated before this strain was put upon them, but the forces set in motion by the extraordinary circumstances, far from ceasing with the war, continued after peace was declared, and the era after 1865 was one of pronounced industrial development. New principles of industrial organization were adopted, affecting the life of every citizen.² Questions of business method came to the front.³ The effect of big business on the general welfare, the warfare of capital and labor, the proper means of developing and conserving natural resources, these and related problems pressed for solution. At first private organizations dealt with these questions, gradually political parties, state legislatures, and finally the national legislature took them up, until by 1900 they were foremost topics in the nation's politics.

In the realm of politics the prominent new feature of the period after 1865 was the growing alliance between politics and business. Aside from this tendency, political life was characterized by development along old lines. In the triumph of the North, Washington's and Jackson's conception of a strong central government, which had been gaining ground in the ante-bellum era, received the sanction of a victory at arms. Questions of sectional interest were bound still to arise, but never since the great struggle has the spirit of sectionalism arrayed itself against the national government to the point of armed antagonism. The right of the national government

to coerce a disobedient state was vindicated; the extreme right of secession was discredited and nationalism rendered triumphant over states' rights. The democracy of Jefferson and Jackson won new victories over conservative aristocracy in the emancipation of the blacks and in the opening up of new opportunities to the poor Southern whites. These were great achievements, but they were accomplished at the expense of a long train of evils, among which were the temporary destruction of the prosperity of the Southern States and the perplexities throughout the Union of caring for the freedmen. As the first great era in the history of the United States as a nation began when Washington was President, as the second took shape during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson and the third during that of Andrew Jackson, so the opening of the fourth is associated with the Civil War era of Abraham Lincoln.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

A notable characteristic of the economic life of the country when it emerged from Civil War was the tendency of capital toward consolidation and monopoly. Said the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of New York in 1866: "There is an increasing tendency in our capital to move in larger masses than formerly. Small business firms compete at more disadvantage with richer houses, and are gradually being absorbed into them. . . . The power accumulating in the moneyed classes from the concentration of capital in large masses is attracting the attention of close observers of the money market. It is one of the signs of the times and will probably exert no small influence over the future growth of our industrial and commercial enterprise." The small industrial units and the free competition of earlier days were passing. Combination was the rule of the hour, a movement to merge isolated, competing and often hostile units into larger and more harmonious groups.

The spirit of consolidation in the business world.

The formation of larger industrial units was especially conspicuous in the railway world. While the war still persisted, two small roads in Maine united to form the Maine Central; seven roads from Boston to Ogdensburg, New York, combined; the Erie absorbed a number of small rivals; the Pennsylvania gained possession of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, and other smaller roads; and the Chicago and Northwestern absorbed numerous competitors north and west of Chicago.

After the war was over the five lines between Buffalo and Chicago along the southern shores of Lake Erie reached a common agreement

in the formation of the Lake Shore in 1867, and in the same year two roads, for a long time bitter rivals, combined and formed the Boston and Albany. The New York Central and the Hudson River combined in 1868. These consolidations were not accomplished without bitter opposition from the general public. The proposed capital of the new Boston and Albany, \$15,000,000, was denounced in Massachusetts as "monstrous" and "unheard of," a decided menace to the politics of the state.

Another typical example of the combination of capital was the progress of the Western Union Telegraph Company. There were over fifty telegraph companies in the United States in 1851, when the Western Union was formed to control a line from Buffalo, New York, to Louisville, Kentucky. In its first five years the new company absorbed eleven small lines in the state of Ohio alone. Growth and consolidation reached its climax during the "telegraph fever," 1861-1865. Western Union interests completed the first telegraph to the Pacific in the late fall of 1861, and soon, by absorbing numerous small companies, that enterprising company extended its lines to the Atlantic. At the same time rival companies stretched at least fifteen thousand miles of new wires, but in 1866 the Western Union, by taking over its leading rivals, placed twenty-five thousand more miles of wire under its control. A monopoly was created with huge profits to the company, but it was a monopoly which was at that time quite generally welcomed, for the public rejoiced in the increased uniformity of the service secured by the destruction of competition.

The growth of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

The same consolidation of competing units went on among manufacturing concerns. The world's greatest monopoly, the Standard Oil Company, was initiated in 1867 by the union of five independent refineries and rapidly took over almost the whole of the oil industry of the country. Thousands of other separate manufacturing industries were swallowed up in like manner by larger organizations.

Consolidation in manufacturing.

In accounting for the formation of the Standard Oil Company, John D. Rockefeller, its head, testified before the United States Industrial Commission as follows: "The cause leading to its formation was the desire to unite our skill and capital in order to carry on a business of magnitude and importance in place of the small business that each separately had theretofore carried on." This was the keynote in other lines of industry as well. An internal revenue tax on sales, imposed as a war measure, hastened the movement along many lines. The cotton manufacturer, whose

Explanation of the movement.

business it was to spin cotton into yarn, upon selling his finished product paid a tax, as did the weaver, the dyer, etc. If the cotton manufacturer could afford to enlarge his plant in order not only to spin but also to weave, or if he could unite his business with that of some weaver, he escaped one of these taxes and if he could take in a dye-works, he escaped another. Here was one force driving small concerns together. Then, too, as the country became more widely settled the commercial world felt the need of uniformity in the transaction of business on a large scale and over a large area; and it was moved also by the necessity of lowering the expense of management and eliminating the low rates of profit resulting from "cut-throat" competition, as the manufacturing establishments the country over became able, because of improved transportation facilities, to vie with one another in the same markets.

The abundance of ready capital and the growth of large fortunes during the Civil War added to the tendency to consolidate. There were men with money to finance large undertakings. In the middle of the war the *New York Independent* asserted that twenty years back there had not been five men in the whole United States worth as much as \$5,000,000 and not twenty worth over \$1,000,000, but that in 1864 there were in New York alone several hundred men worth \$1,000,000 and some worth \$20,000,000.

In spite of the justification for the changes going on, the friends of the competitive system of industry sounded a warning that consolidation, unless checked, would lead to monopoly and to the high prices that only a monopoly can impose.

The dangers of monopoly.

Rapid construction of new transportation lines accompanied the consolidation of lines already constructed. In the eight years after the close of the war, railroad construction was as extensive as in the previous thirty-five years, the 35,000 miles of line in operation in 1865 reaching 70,000 in 1873. Even the astonishing record of the decade of the fifties was eclipsed.

Rapid railroad construction.

A most important step in national development was the completion of the first railroad to the Pacific coast, the Union Pacific, by far the longest line of transportation in the country and the largest system under one management. The secession of the Southern States and the ensuing war conditions had added emphasis to the demand for this road, to bind together the West and the East and by closer commercial relations render the Pacific States an integral part of the Union. Congress sanctioned the line in 1862 and made a grant to it of \$50,000,000 in United States bonds and 20,000,000 acres of public lands to assist in paying the cost

The Union Pacific Railroad.

of construction. The first rails were laid in 1864. After peace was declared the reunited country followed the progress of the road with extraordinary interest, just as it had watched the progress of the Erie Canal forty years before. Along hundreds of miles of the way the laborers required the protection of soldiers against the Indians, and on many occasions the laborers themselves were forced to turn



THE COMPLETION OF THE UNION PACIFIC AND CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD

soldiers. At Ogden, Utah, where the eastern and western construction gangs came together in 1869, a silver sledge hammer was used to drive the last three spikes, one of gold, silver, and iron from Arizona, one of silver from Nevada, and one of gold from California; connecting telegraph wires, which had succeeded in spanning the continent before the railroads, reported the last strokes in most of the cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Although at present there are seven transcontinental roads, this first road to the Pacific coast was a great achievement for the time and the nation's greatest internal improvement up to that day. The first telegraph to the Pacific went into operation in 1861, but the "pony express," which started at about the same time, remained the only means of carrying the mail over the plains till the advent of the railroad.

When Morse invented the electric telegraph he predicted that his invention would some day be used to carry messages under the water as well as over the land. Progress came slowly. At first cables under

water were stretched for short distances in rivers and harbors, then for longer distances, as for instance, for some hundreds of miles in the Mediterranean Sea from the Island of Malta to Alexandria in Egypt. To Cyrus W. Field is due the credit for bringing to completion the

The Atlantic cable. great enterprise of laying a submarine telegraph cable beneath the Atlantic from Europe to America. The first Atlantic cable was stretched in 1858, but ceased to work after a few weeks; the Civil War intervened, and ultimate success was not achieved till 1866. From that time on, Europe and America have been in instant communication. The Western Union Telegraph Company was at the same time engaged in stretching its wires along the shores of the Pacific north from San Francisco to Alaska, whence a short cable was to lead to Asiatic Russia or Siberia and overland wires to St. Petersburg and Western Europe. This enterprise was never finished, for the cable under the Atlantic to carry messages between the two hemispheres was completed first; but there was universal admiration for the daring of the telegraph company which conceived the project.

A second characteristic of the economic life of the era succeeding the war was the preference of capital for the stock corporation, as a
The growth of stock corporations. form of business organization, to the partnership which had prevailed when economic units were smaller. There had been corporations in colonial times, such as the London and Plymouth companies, the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the Hudson Bay Company. In Washington's day and later there were turnpike and canal corporations, and after 1830 railroad corporations. By 1865 corporations were spreading rapidly throughout the whole industrial world, especially to mining and manufacturing enterprises.

A corporation is usually composed of more members than a partnership; its life does not depend upon the life of its original members, while
Characteristics of corporations. a partnership continues only so long as its members survive; and in a corporation the will of a majority controls, whereas a partnership is usually governed by the unanimous voice of the partners. The affairs of a stock corporation are governed by a small board of directors, acting for the shareholders. For the payment of the debts of a corporation the members are generally liable for no more than the amount of their stock, while a partner is usually liable for all the debts of the firm. The stock of a corporation is divided into shares, which the shareholders may sell at will, while the transfer of an interest in a partnership usually requires the consent of all the partners.

As its name indicates, a stock exchange is a place where stocks,

that is, shares in a corporation, may be exchanged. Exchanges had existed before 1861, but during the war they enlarged their operations tremendously and assumed great importance in the industrial age following. The shares of the new corporations found their way to the exchanges, where, in the prevailing spirit of speculation during the war period, they changed hands rapidly.

The stock
exchange.

The extension of corporate control of industry had pronounced effects in the labor world. The close personal relationship between the single owner of a small manufacturing concern or the few members of a partnership, on the one hand, and the artisans on the other hand, was disappearing. There was instead the divided ownership of shareholders, who bought and sold their shares in a more or less gambling spirit, might own shares in numerous concerns, often lived far away from the factory, and had no personal knowledge of factory conditions and no personal interest in the factory except as it furnished them dividends. Unlike the individual owner, who in the management of his small factory looked to his own interests and to the closely allied interests of his men, the corporate board of directors looked mainly in the other direction toward the interests of the impersonal, unsympathetic shareholders. Directors, appointed by thousands or tens of thousands of shareholders clamoring for dividends and dividends alone, can rarely take the personal interest in the workmen exhibited by the former partnerships.

Effects of
business
corporation
in the labor
world.

Factory conditions changed under the new régime. The company boarding house, the company store, and payment in store "orders," which, when administered by the individual owners before corporations became common, were often beneficent institutions, gradually changed in nature under the control of directors, until they were generally discarded through the active opposition of the men themselves. Corporations, therefore, were they railroad, manufacturing, mining, or petroleum companies, contributed powerfully toward widening the chasm between capital and labor. The very size of the corporation, too, its increased capital and greater power in the industrial world, constituted a menace to labor unknown in the days of partnerships. As industrial corporations tightened their hold on modern business in the years after 1865, the estrangements between capital and labor went on increasing. Quarrels over hours, rates of wages, and what not, were only secondary to this fundamental cause of grievance, corporate control of industry; and the only resort of the laborers was to band themselves together for united remonstrance.

Changed
factory
conditions.

Few of the labor unions of the thirties survived in 1861, but the movement toward such organizations which set in again during the war went on increasing after the war and survives to the present day.

The progress of labor unions. A number of the national unions now existing were formed before 1870. Over the local and national unions of the single trades stood the Knights of Labor, a secret order formed in 1869, for the purpose of protecting the interests of workmen of different trades, on the principle that an injury to one was the concern of all. By 1880 the Knights numbered 140,000, though not all its members were wage earners, for men of all occupations, except saloon keepers, gamblers, bankers, and lawyers, were admitted as members. The new organization sought "to secure to the workmen the full enjoyment of the wealth they create and sufficient leisure to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties." This organization and the labor movement as a whole were not active in politics for a number of years.

Economic conditions following the war presented a third characteristic, which, though uncommendable, must be recognized. Corruption was rampant in both business and politics. **Corruption in business and politics.** Probably the decade between 1865 and 1875 was the most corrupt in the history of the country. Financial circles were stirred by a long series of defalcations and embezzlements. On the stock exchange the motto "Get rich quick" was never so loosely and so recklessly carried out. One broker, Jay Gould, contrived to make \$12,000,000 from questionable manipulation of the stock of the Erie Railroad, and on another occasion, on "Black Friday," September 24, 1869, he made at least \$11,000,000 more by still more questionable speculation in gold. The Crédit Mobilier scandal, in connection with the letting of contracts for the Union Pacific Railroad, involved several high officials in the national government.

There was widespread corruption in official life in both state and nation. A Secretary of War, accused of letting fraudulent contracts in his department, found it necessary to resign in order to escape removal from office. At the trial of this official before the United States Senate, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts made the following sad arraignment of contemporary public life: "My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office; but in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take

Senator Hoar's arraignment.

part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen in the state in the Union foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the political administration of her chief city became a disgrace and a byword throughout the world. I have seen the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress . . . that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. . . . I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President."

The city, whose municipal administration Senator Hoar called a "disgrace and a by-word throughout the world," was New York. This great metropolis was in the hands of one of the worst political rings in the history of that or of any other city. William M. Tweed, leader of Tammany Hall, the regular organization of the Democratic party in that city, was the absolute boss of the city, and his corrupt rule cost the public hundreds of millions of dollars. In the construction of the county courthouse, begun during the war, to cost \$250,000, \$10,000,000 was consumed, while the debt of the city mounted in two years to \$80,000,000, and the tax-payers had little to show for their money. The stealings of Tweed and his confederates were variously estimated at from \$50,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Tweed was arrested, convicted, and sent to prison, and although he escaped he was recaptured and died in prison.

The Tweed
ring in
New York.

For a third time, the same general set of causes which had led to economic disaster in 1837 and 1857 asserted themselves and prosperity gave way to the panic of 1873. Reckless speculation on borrowed money, construction of railroads, and the organization of other enterprises beyond the immediate needs of the country, had gone too far. In September, 1873, a prominent banking house of Philadelphia, which had invested too heavily in the projected second railroad to the Pacific, known as the Northern Pacific, closed its doors. The next day, September 19, was a second Black Friday on the New York Stock Exchange. The favorite stocks, "New York Central," "Erie," "Western Union," fell with a crash ten to forty

The panic
of 1873.

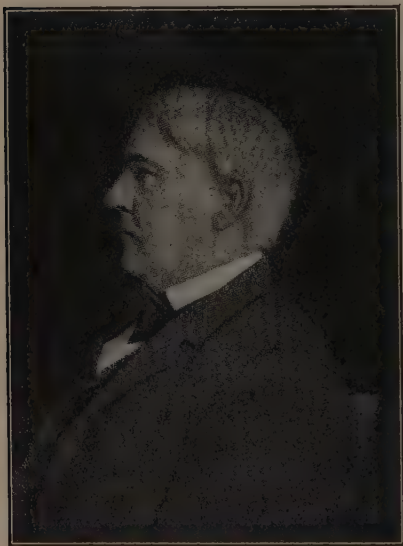
points, in a perfect pandemonium of tumult and excitement. All over the country securities were rushed to the market at greatly reduced prices, credit business was refused, and debtors were pressed for payment; prices of agricultural products dropped, factories were shut down, and corporations went to the wall. It was the first financial panic in which the stock exchange played an important part.

In 1876 there was held at Philadelphia a great exposition to celebrate the centennial of the nation's independence; and the encouraging

The
Centennial
Exposition at
Philadelphia.

demonstration there made of the foundations on which the industrial life of the United States rested, proved a strong factor in hastening the recovery of business from the depression of the panic. In four months nearly 10,000,000 people passed through the gates to behold the wonderful

achievements of human industry and invention in agriculture, mining, transportation, and manufacturing. Americans saw at the exposition for the first time the bicycle, imported from Europe, and the first form of the useful American invention of Alexander Graham Bell, then known as the "lovers telegraph," but within another year perfected as the modern telephone. A wave of practical invention was sweeping over the country. The Westinghouse airbrake for railroad trains, the typewriter, the automatic binder on reaping machines, fountain pens, and the Bessemer steel process from Europe were still new. In 1877 Thomas A. Edison gave to the world the phonograph, in 1879 the mega-



THOMAS A. EDISON

phone and the incandescent electric light, and in 1882 the present electric trolley cars; and to him must also be credited various improvements in the telegraph, and many other later inventions, including the moving picture machine. The electric arc light was produced by Charles F. Brush in 1879. The linotype for setting type was perfected by O. Mergenthaler in 1885.

THE FRONTIER

Outside the industrial centers of the East, on the frontier lands of the middle and far West, less economic readjustment was necessary during and after the war. The statesmen at the head of the government in Washington, even while the Civil War was raging, had not lost sight of the necessity of fostering the growth of the agricultural West as an important national asset. It sought to foster European immigration by the

Congressional legislation for the West.



WAGON TRAIN ACROSS THE PLAINS

creation of the office of Commissioner of Immigration, and to make the public lands of the West more attractive to settlers by enacting a special law prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States, by passing the long-desired homestead law, which gave away farms of one hundred and sixty acres each to *bona fide* settlers, by providing funds for agricultural education in every state, and by liberally extending the land grant railroad policy of the fifties to the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads and to various other roads that would penetrate the government lands. Finally a Commissioner of Agriculture was appointed to collect agricultural statistics and to promote agricultural development.

This policy of the government was preëminently successful. Even the war on the southern battle fields put little stop to the migration of population across the plains, and after the war the movement went on

at a rate theretofore unknown. In the typical war year of 1864 one hundred and fifty thousand people crossed the great plains. From Council Bluffs, Iowa, on the Missouri River, one traveler during this year wrote as follows: "The migration is said never to have been exceeded. When you approach this town the ravines and gorges are white with the covered wagons at rest. Below the town toward the river long wings of white canvas stretch away on either side into the soft green willows; at the ferry from a quarter to a half mile or more of teams all the time await their turn to cross. . . . A large ferry plying rapidly all the day long makes no diminution of the crowd." With railroads radiating all over the West, the never-ending stream of settlers increased.

Minnesota received statehood in 1858, Oregon in 1859, Kansas in 1861, Nevada in 1864, Nebraska in 1867, and Colorado, the centennial state, in 1876. The growth of population in the Western States is shown in the following table:

	Made a State	Population						
		1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Texas	1845	212,000	604,000	818,000	1,591,000	2,235,000	3,000,000	3,896,000
California	1850	92,000	379,000	560,000	864,000	1,213,000	1,485,000	2,377,000
Minnesota	1858	6,000	172,000	439,000	780,000	1,310,000	1,750,000	2,075,000
Oregon	1859	13,000	52,000	90,000	174,000	317,000	413,000	672,000
Kansas	1861	107,000	364,000	996,000	1,428,000	1,470,000	1,690,000	1,690,000
West Virginia	1863	442,000	618,000	762,000	958,000	1,221,000	1,221,000	1,221,000
Nevada	1864	6,800	42,000	62,000	47,000	42,000	81,000	81,000
Nebraska	1867	28,000	122,000	452,000	1,062,000	1,666,000	1,192,000	1,192,000
Colorado	1876	34,000	39,000	194,000	412,000	539,000	799,000	799,000

The steady westward march of population was accompanied by the inevitable Indian massacres, which had characterized similar movements from the earliest days of American frontier building. During the second year of the war the Sioux Indians killed eight hundred men, women, and children in Minnesota, and destroyed property to the value of \$5,000,000. Escaping punishment here, they pillaged in the Valley of the Missouri, where they lay in wait for immigrant bands, who were obliged to move under military escort. The Sioux went on the war-path again in 1868 on account of encroachment upon their lands in Dakota and Montana by the bands of immigrants on their way to the Montana gold fields, and for two years they continued to pillage and burn. They made their last stand under their chief, Sitting Bull, in 1876, at the battle of Little Big Horn in southern Montana, where General Custer and his band of

two hundred and sixty men, sent against them, were annihilated. In 1879 the Sioux accepted the yoke of the whites and entered upon the reservation prepared for them in southern Dakota. In New Mexico and Arizona, the Comanches and Apaches were long a source of trouble to the whites, but were finally put down. The Cheyennes and the Arapahoes were subdued at the Battle of the Washita in the present state of Oklahoma in 1868. In all these encounters with the red men in the sixties and seventies the whites, under Generals Hancock, Custer, Sheridan and Miles, of Civil War fame, resorted, perhaps of necessity, to great cruelty, and despite their depredations much sympathy for the Indians was aroused throughout the nation. General Miles has left it as his testimony that he had never known an Indian war in which the whites were not the aggressors.

The Civil War, by taking the young men off to the camps and battle-fields, had rapidly popularized the use of labor-saving machinery as nothing had been able to popularize it before. Conservative farmers, who, before the war, when labor was cheap and plentiful, failed to see the advantages of the new machinery, after the outbreak of hostilities, when stared

Increased
use of labor-
saving
machinery.

in the face by the possibility of losing their crops for want of labor, looked with eager interest at the new appliances. Said the editor of the *Scientific American*: "In conversation a few days since with a most intelligent western farmer he told us that manual labor was so scarce last autumn that but for horse rakes, mowers, and reaping machines one-half of the crops would have been left standing in the fields. This year the demand for reapers has been so great that manufacturers will not be able to fill their orders. Farming is comparatively child's play to what it was twenty years ago, before mowing, reaping, and other agricultural machines were employed. The severe manual labor of mowing, raking, pitching, and cradling is now performed by machinery operated by horse power, and man simply oversees the operations and conducts them with intelligence."

The McCormick reaper, which appeared first in the thirties, was improved from time to time, till it not only gathered the grain but separated it into sheaves and bound the sheaves, at first with wire, later with twine. Threshers, small in size and run by horse power, accomplished the same work as the present machines, though less effectively; the grain was threshed, cleaned, measured, and the straw stacked at one operation. There were revolving horserakes, grain drills, two-horse cultivators, rotary spaders, mowers, and steel plows, all of which had been gradually coming into use since Andrew Jackson's time.

Agricultural
machinery.

Following the same tendencies that had produced the labor unions and the combinations of capital, organizations of farmers appeared.

**The
Granger
movement.**

The society of Patrons of Husbandry was formed in 1867 to advance the interests of the farming classes and particularly to secure lower rates of transportation. The society, made up of local lodges, or granges, admitted both men and women into its ranks. It was secret and was designed to advance the social welfare of the farming classes as well as to further their industrial interests, and, like the labor unions, it did not at first go into politics. Within eight years the society numbered 150,000 members, recruited from every section of the country. A similar organization, though not a secret order, known as the Farmers' Alliance, and more openly political, was formed in New York in 1873 and spread rapidly in the western part of the country, but it was not an important factor till near the close of the next decade.

**The new
cattle
ranches.**

On the treeless and grassy plains of the West cattle-raising on extensive ranches came to rank with agriculture as an industry of importance. The raising of cattle had been an occupation of frontiersmen from the very first. As civilization pushed westward, cattle raisers had been in the vanguard, but until the prairies of the interior were reached, the industry was small and rarely attempted to supply anything beyond local needs. The large ranches beyond the Mississippi, common by the latter half of the nineteenth century, did not have an eastern origin. These originated rather in Mexico and spread northward, supplied by Mexican, and after the independence of Texas and its admission into the Union, by Texas, steers. The grasses of the plains were richer and sweeter, the cattle feeding on them larger and fatter, as the herds penetrated farther north. Uncle Sam's public lands were for the most part unoccupied and were free, or at least trespassing on them could not be stopped. So irresistible was the northward trend that in a few years after the Civil War not only Texas but also Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and parts of Utah, Nevada, Missouri, Iowa and Illinois were covered by immense herds.

In 1857 Texas cattle began to be driven on foot overland to Kansas City and Chicago, mainly the latter city, in search of a market. The war intervened to stop the drive, but in 1866 it began again, and the slaughter and dressing of cattle in the western cities quickly constituted a great industry. For hundreds of miles the long trails across the plains were dotted with herds of five or ten thousand cattle, all northward going; in 1871, 600,000 cattle crossed the Red River on their way from Texas.

**The over-
land drive.**

New trails were gradually developed; railroads came in a few years; and in the seventies and early eighties millions of cattle from the plains reached the western slaughter-houses.

The cattle ranch was not limited to a few hundred acres, and it was not stationary like the homestead of the ordinary settler. Nor was it encumbered with bars and fences. Branded with the owner's mark, which was usually respected as a full and complete title of ownership, the cattle roved free over loosely defined ranges hundreds of miles in extent. At the "round-up," which was "the harvest time of the range," it was the duty of the cowboys and their ponies to search out the wanderers, gather them together, take them on the long drive to market, and protect them from enemies and from their own stampedes. These operations sometimes lasted for several months, during which time the home ranch was deserted.

Description
of the
ranch.

Peace did not always reign on the ranges, which were so far removed from regularly administered law that order was enforced only by the coöperation of the scattered ranchmen themselves. Drove of thousands of sheep soon came to appropriate their share of the free lands and free grass, and the ranchmen could not always get along amicably with the sheep herders. The ranchmen themselves often waged small civil wars with one another over cattle-stealing, the misappropriation of brands, the extent of the ranges, and other such matters as were bound to arise.

Wars on the
ranges.

Profits were large, and the industry for a time received a tremendous impetus. Cattle bought for a few dollars, raised in vast numbers, fed on free fodder, and needing but few men to attend them, could be sold in several years for four or five times their original cost. Conservative capital in the United States and even from other lands poured into the industry, and many young men from the Eastern States, attracted by the prospects of wealth and by the sturdy independent life of the ranchmen, went into the cattle business.

Prosperity
of the
ranches.

Up to 1861 the slaughter and dressing of hogs, cattle, and sheep, and the preparation of meat products for the market had been on a comparatively small scale, and had been confined, with a few exceptions, almost entirely to the farms and to small country towns; but in the course of the war, on account of the closing of the Mississippi and the consequent difficulties of marketing the large corn crops, the droves, herds and flocks of the Northwest increased rapidly, and their chief sale was found in the western cities, where the number of slaughter-houses rapidly

Meat pack-
ing in the
cities.

g.

increased. In 1860, 270,000 hogs were packed in Chicago, but in a single year during the course of the war 900,000. The industry expanded in other western centers also, though on a smaller scale than in Chicago, where one-third of the hog-packing industry of the country was centered. The sudden centralization of what before the war had been a domestic industry of the farms, was one of the marked changes wrought by the war in the industrial life of the nation.

An activity of the plains which reached its height about 1870 was the buffalo hunt. Overland travelers west of the Mississippi were astounded at the tens of thousands of buffaloes which seemed to envelop them. Buffaloes moved, as no other animals ever have, in great multitudes, covering many square miles. In swimming the rivers they often obstructed boats, on the plains they overwhelmed travelers, and in passing railroad tracks they often rushed headlong into moving trains and threatened to derail them. Many a railroad train was stopped to allow the herd to pass. By a strange mixture of characteristics, fierce and strong as he was, the buffalo was one of the most stupid animals known to man. He was slow in scenting danger, and would sometimes stand quietly by with no other apparent emotion than that of stupid wonder, while his companions in the herd were slaughtered by the hundred. A traveler of 1868, crossing the plains of Kansas for one hundred and twenty miles, wrote: "We passed through an almost unbroken herd of buffalo. The plains were blackened with them, and more than once the train had to stop to allow unusually large herds to pass." The same traveler, in 1872, in commenting on a journey of one hundred miles in Indian Territory, wrote: "We were never out of sight of buffalo."

The construction of the Union Pacific railroad ultimately divided the buffaloes into a northern and a southern herd; and a competent authority has estimated that in 1871 the southern herd numbered above 3,000,000 animals, possibly over 4,000,000.

Captain John C. Frémont of the United States army, in the report of one of his exploring expeditions across the plains in the forties, described a buffalo hunt in the following graphic language: "As we were riding quietly along the bank, a grand herd of buffalo, some seven or eight hundred in number, came crowding up from the river, where they had been to drink, and commenced crossing the plain slowly, eating as they went. . . . It was too fine a prospect for the chase to be lost, and, halting for a few moments, the hunters were brought up and sad-

**The
buffalo
herds.**

**An estimate
of their
numbers.**

**Frémont's
description
of the
buffalo hunt.**

dled, and Kit Carson, Maxwell, and I started together. They were somewhat less than a half-mile distant, and we rode easily along until within about three hundred yards, when a sudden agitation, a wavering in the band, and a galloping to and fro of some who were scattered along the skirts gave us the intimation that we were discovered. . . . A crowd of bulls, as usual, brought up the rear, and every now and then some of them faced about, and then dashed on after the band a short distance, and turned and looked again, as if more than half inclined to stand and fight. In a few moments, however, during which we had been quickening our pace, the rout was universal, and we were going over the ground like a hurricane. When at about thirty yards, we gave the usual shout (the hunter's *pas de charge*), and broke into the herd. We entered on the side, the mass giving away in every direction in their heedless course. Many of the bulls, less active and less fleet than the cows, paying no attention to the ground, and occupied solely with the hunter, were precipitated to the earth with great force, rolling over and over with the violence of the shock, and hardly distinguishable in the dust. We separated on entering, each singling out his game.

"My horse was a trained hunter, famous in the West under the name of Proveau, and with his eyes flashing, and the foam flying from his mouth, sprang on after the cow like a tiger. In a few moments he brought me alongside of her, and, rising in the stirrups, I fired at the distance of a yard, the ball entering at the termination of the long hair and passing near the heart. She fell headlong at the report of the gun, and, checking my horse, I looked around for my companions. At a little distance, Kit was on the ground, engaged in tying his horse to the horns of a cow which he was preparing to cut up. Among the scattered bands, at some distance below, I caught a glimpse of Maxwell; and while I was looking, a light wreath of white smoke curled away from his gun, from which I was too far to hear the report. Nearer, and between me and the hills, toward which they were directing their course, was the body of the herd, and giving my horse the rein, we dashed after them. A thick cloud of dust hung upon their rear, which filled my mouth and eyes, and nearly smothered me. In the midst of this I could see nothing, and the buffalo were not distinguishable until within thirty feet. They crowded together more densely still as I came upon them, and rushed along in such a compact body, that I could not obtain an entrance — the horse almost leaping upon them. In a few moments the mass divided to the right and left, the horns clattering with a noise heard above everything else, and my horse darted into the opening. Five or six bulls charged on us as we

dashed along the line, but were left far behind; and singling out a cow, I gave her my fire; but struck too high." . . .

Indians and whites alike joined in the slaughter of the buffalo, sometimes out of sheer delight in the hunt, sometimes to secure robes and meat. After the railways gave ready access to the

The slaughter of the herds. hunting-grounds, the rate of extermination was rapidly accelerated. The hunt in the south reached its height in 1872-1873, during which two years it has been estimated that over 3,000,000 animals were slaughtered in the southern herd alone. By the end of 1874 this herd had ceased to exist. The northern herd, which was somewhat smaller, survived till 1883. In one year no fewer than five thousand white hunters were on the northern range, some killing as many as 2500 or 3000 animals apiece. Straggling buffaloes lingered a few years after the herds were wiped out, but by the twentieth century wild buffaloes on the plains were creatures of the past.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

In what sense is it true to say that the Civil War introduced a new era? Summarize the political and economic results of the war. Was the consolidation of capital wholly good or wholly bad? Did labor in the North gain or lose by the war? Why did the war bring corruption in politics? Why was it good statesmanship to foster the growth of the West during the war? Did this policy not mean a drain of men away from the army? Why did labor-saving machinery come into wider use during the war? Why was the creation of the large cattle ranches delayed till the close of the war? What was the *Crédit Mobilier*?

CHAPTER XXV

B.

POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

METHODS OF RECONSTRUCTION

ANDREW JOHNSON, to whom the presidency fell at the death of Abraham Lincoln, had received the vice-presidential nomination in 1864 as a loyalist of Eastern Tennessee, which class Lincoln felt should be recognized. He had had more experience in public affairs than had Lincoln, having passed through various town and state offices to the governorship of Tennessee and membership successively in both branches of Congress, but he lacked Lincoln's qualities of tact, patience, gentleness, good judgment, and ability to get along with men. He quarreled almost continuously with Congress and with his party throughout his administration.

Andrew
Johnson.

The year 1865 was one of high tension in the public mind. The surrender of Lee and the end of the war, followed by the assassination of President Lincoln, the pursuit, capture, trial, and execution of the conspirators, keyed the nation to an extreme pitch of excitement. In the bitterness, President Davis, pursued and imprisoned, was charged not only with treason but with having had a part in the death of the President of the United States. The impressive review of the victorious armies at Washington and the return of the men to peaceful pursuits; the sad return of the southern veterans to their desolate homes, the sensational trial, conviction, and execution of the keeper of the Confederate prison at Andersonville, Georgia, marked the end of military hostilities, while the abolition of slavery by state after state in the South, the formal repeal of the once proud ordinances of secession by the same states, the repudiation of their Confederate debts and their knocking at the doors of Congress in Washington for readmission to the Union, inaugurated a political readjustment that promised at first to be speedy. Ex-members of the Confederate Congress, ex-generals from the Confederate army, and even ex-Vice President Stephens sought membership in the Congress of the United States. The prospect of completing the restoration of the Union so quickly and so peacefully at the end of the year of excitement at first aroused great popular enthusiasm.

The exciting
year of 1865.

13th March 1865

The work of bringing the Southern States back into the Union was called Reconstruction. How it was to be done and under what terms were topics of discussion in the North as soon as secession became an accomplished fact, and during the four years of war the discussion continued. Unfortunately the Constitution was silent on the subject. Quite naturally the makers of the Constitution did not recognize in that document the possibility of the destruction of the Union which they sought to cement, and made no provisions for the reunion of estranged sections. President Lincoln worked out a plan, which in general President Johnson adopted as his own, by which any Southern State, with the concurrence of at least ten per cent of the voters in that state in 1860, was to be allowed to form a new state government and to elect members to Congress, upon its formal recognition of the abolition of slavery. During the lifetime of Lincoln, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana were so organized, and it was under the Lincoln-Johnson plan that the remainder of the Southern States were acting in 1865.

The one thing that remained to complete the restoration, was the formal assent of Congress itself to receive the representatives of the restored states into its membership. This consent Congress refused to give until the Southerners, in addition to freeing the blacks, should go further and pass laws to guide and protect the ex-slaves in their newly acquired freedom. Here Congress and the President parted ways. The President insisted that the states should be let alone in their dealings with the freedmen, while Congress favored national supervision of the matter. The Southern States made the terrible mistake of antagonizing the branch of the national government that had the last word on the question of their readmission into the Union. In the face of the wishes of Congress, state after state in the South not only refused to give the blacks any practical assistance, but passed new "black codes" denying them many of the privileges of freedom. Included in these codes were vagrancy laws, which reduced the negroes, who had no fixed place of abode and no regular work, to forced service for the whites who came forward and paid their fines. This was practically a restoration of slavery. Congress feared that if it did not intervene to check the reckless Southern legislation under the President's mild policy, the emancipation of the slaves, accomplished at the cost of the war, would be practically brought to nought. The members of Congress, too, were jealous of the President because he had taken up the problem of Reconstruction without consulting

The presidential plan of Reconstruction.

Congress refuses to accept the President's plan.

them, and many allowed their personal antagonism to the President to set them in opposition to his measures.

The Senate and the House of Representatives, therefore, before consenting to the admission of Southern members to Congress, passed two national laws to give to the negroes such protection as seemed to Congress necessary. One of these laws enlarged the scope of the Freedmen's Bureau, a national charity in the interests of the blacks, and the other

The congressional plan of Reconstruction.

guaranteed to the unfortunates the civil rights denied them by the Southern States. The President, who did not weaken in his position that these matters were not properly within the power of the national government, vetoed both bills; and the exasperated Congress passed them over his veto. Congress then went further and put its ideas as to the civil rights of the negro into the more permanent form of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, in effect 1868, which dealt a final blow to the principles of the Dred Scott Decision by the declaration that all persons born in the United States, and subject to its jurisdiction, were citizens of the United States; and that no state should abridge the privileges of citizens nor deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny him the equal protection of the law. Tennessee alone accepted the amendment and was at once admitted back into the Union; the other Southern States refused. Angered again by the refusal, and encouraged by the support of the people who by this time had turned from President Johnson and had registered their approval of the congressional plan of Reconstruction in the congressional elections of 1866, Congress imposed still harder terms. It set aside the Johnson state governments and enacted that the refractory states be divided into five military districts, each to be under the command of an officer of the army.

The congressional leaders, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, were able men, who had rendered their country distinguished

The suffering of the South.

services, but in this crisis they proved visionary and impractical, and believed themselves justified in disregarding actual conditions in the Southern States. In the first place, the whole South was suffering from abject poverty. Every dollar of the paper money of the Confederacy and every Confederate bond were worthless; every loan to the Confederate government was a total loss; and the thousands who had their money invested in slaves were ruined. Millions of dollars' worth of Southern property had been destroyed by the contending armies, and in some cases whole towns and cities had been laid in ashes. Many of the

slaveholders, who had never worked with their hands, found themselves reduced to the necessity of working for their daily bread. "General Sherman shall not bring my daughters to the wash tub," declared one proud Southerner, typical of his class, and the efforts he made to keep his vow were pathetic. He tried to chop wood and to use the hoe, but with the weight of his years he proved almost as helpless as a babe. Yet he struggled on, as did many another unused to manual labor, for only their own hands kept them from starvation. In some instances the blacks in their freedom remained loyal to their old masters, and cheerfully performed their accustomed tasks.

There was infinite humiliation to the whites in the fact that the soldiers used by the United States to carry out the military government of the recalcitrant states were largely ex-slaves. Clad in the uniform of the United States and armed with muskets or swords, the former slaves would strut down the streets of the little town near the old home of plantation days, and the old master, meeting them, must get out of the way. The Southern veterans were not allowed to meet in reunion to talk over their war experiences and to sing the war songs. If they wore the old uniforms with the Confederate buttons, the soldiers might throw them to the ground and snatch the buttons from them. All these indignities and more were heaped on the Southerners, when their situation was unfortunate enough at best.

In order to shake off this military government and get back into the Union, the Southern States were obliged to comply with the harsh conditions set by Congress in the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867. Their new constitutions were to be framed by conventions of delegates elected by whites and blacks alike, except that those whites disfranchised for participation in the war could not take part; each of the new constitutions was to contain a clause giving the elective franchise to blacks and whites on the same terms; and the fourteenth amendment must be accepted. Bitter conditions indeed; but seven of the Southern States soon complied, were admitted at once back into the Union, and with Tennessee took part in the presidential election of 1868. Early in the next administration the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was passed, providing that the right to vote should be denied to no citizens of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The last three states accepted the conditions of the Reconstruction Act, ratified the fifteenth amendment, and were restored to their position in the Union in time to take part in the presidential election of 1872. The negroes were now in possession of

**Harsh
regulations.**

**The triumph
of the con-
gressional
plan.**

full civil and political rights, and all the Southern States were restored to their old place in the Union.

Such bitter feeling developed between the President and Congress over the question of Reconstruction that the House of Representatives in 1868, on the eve of the presidential campaign of that year, impeached President Johnson before the bar of the Senate for his alleged refusal to obey the recently enacted Tenure of Office Act and for other reasons. The Tenure of Office Act provided that the President, who made appointments with the consent of the Senate, might remove his appointees from office only with the consent of the same body. In spite of the act the President had removed Secretary Edwin M. Stanton from the War Department. A two-thirds vote of the Senators against the President would have removed him from office, but he escaped conviction by one vote. Posterity may rejoice that the presidency was not degraded, yet many who believe that Johnson's plan of reconstruction was wiser than that of Congress, still hold him responsible for his trouble with that body, because in his quarrel with it he assumed that he was wholly in the right and refused to yield an inch. He was an obstinate man, unable either to bring men to his point of view or to accept theirs. Although President for almost four years, he was practically without power in legislation all that time, for there was a two-thirds majority opposed to him in both houses of Congress, ready on every occasion to override his veto.

The impeachment of President Johnson.

Since the memorable day at Appomattox, General Grant, as the North's greatest military chieftain and most popular citizen, had loomed large as a possible presidential candidate, and the Republicans quite naturally gave him a unanimous nomination in 1868 on a platform indorsing the congressional plan of Reconstruction. The Democrats, who were still suffering from the odium of having declared the war a failure in 1864, were in a difficult position. To restore the prestige of the party, the character and record of their new leader was of the utmost importance. There were three paths open to them. First, they might name a popular military hero from the ranks of their own party, like General Winfield Scott Hancock, or General Francis P. Blair, who would appeal to the war spirit. Second, they might pick a prominent man from the triumphant Republican party, like Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase or President Andrew Johnson, who would be willing to desert his own party and lead them; or third, they might nominate one of their own number, who had stood loyal to principle during the late war as a Peace Democrat. The last course was the most consistent

The presidential nominations of 1868.

with the Democratic record, but in view of the success of the war it was poor politics. Chase, who had been Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury till the middle of the year 1864 and was now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was very anxious for the Democratic nomination, though he was criticized for lowering the dignity of the Supreme Bench by seeking political preferment. President Johnson, smarting under the humiliation of his quarrel with the Republican congressional leaders, looked to the Democrats as his only hope of vindication.

Consistency triumphed over politics, and the Democratic nomination, on a platform calling for the "immediate restoration of all the states," was given to Horatio Seymour of New York, a peace man and governor of New York during the war. In the electoral colleges the vote stood 214 for Grant to 80 for Seymour. The Peace Democrat, as a vote getter, was no match for the nation's most popular military hero. The incubus of the war hung over the Democrats for years, and it is interesting in this connection to note their later record, that they were worsted at the polls in 1872 when they tried a member of the Republican party as their leader, in 1876 when they were led by another Peace Democrat, and in 1880 with a military hero as their candidate. Not till 1884, when sectional bitterness had subsided and they were led by one who had taken no active part in the war or war politics, did they succeed in electing their candidate.

THE WORKING OF THE NEGRO STATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH

Because of natural modesty and reticence, General Grant shrank from the public gaze and from speech-making; of the arts of the politician he had none, and he was a poor judge of men. His knowledge of the law and government of the United States was meager, so that he was compelled to lean heavily upon friends and advisers, some of whom deceived him shamefully. The people, however, never forgot that, with Lincoln, Grant had been the savior of the Union, and they forgave him his political deficiencies.

The most prominent topic before the people during these years was the actual working of the new state governments of the South in the hands of the negroes and their unprincipled white leaders. The experience of South Carolina may be taken as illustrative of the working of the system. In the legislature of this state, 1868-1872, only twenty-two of the one hundred and fifty-five members could read and write; several could only write their

**Experiences
of South
Carolina.**

**President
Grant.**

**The result at
the polls.**

names, and forty-one signed their names with a cross mark. One of the ninety-eight negro members paid \$83 in taxes, thirty together paid \$60, and sixty-seven paid none; of the fifty-seven white members twenty-four paid no taxes. The only executive official of the state to pay taxes was the lieutenant governor. Yet these poverty stricken ignoramuses in one year levied \$2,000,000 in taxes on the taxpayers of the state, most of whom were whites, and in four years ran the state \$20,000,000 in debt.



A TRIAL BY THE KU KLUX KLAN

The leaders of the blacks were in large part white men, either "carpet-baggers" from the North, that is, adventurers who had packed all their belongings in a carpet-bag and had gone South to seek their fortunes in corrupt politics, or "scalawags," that is, Southern whites, who from low motives so far betrayed their friends and neighbors as to help the negroes administer their criminal rule.

The carpet-baggers and the scalawags.

The self-respecting Southerners, before Congress would allow them to vote, found two ways of fighting against their oppression. First, they formed secret societies to intimidate the black voters and frighten them away from the polls. The members of the most notable of these societies, the Ku Klux Klan, would ride

The Ku Klux Klan.

about among the negro huts at night, attired in fantastic costumes, to frighten the occupants and bind them by solemn oath to do the bidding of the whites. They resorted not only to actual violence but also to grotesque devices. Drawing up before one hut and requesting a drink of water, a horseman, who carried a tank concealed beneath his robes, would drink three bucketfuls of water, with the words, "That's good; the first I've had since Shiloh." Another would ask a frightened negro to hold his horse, and then taking off what was apparently his own head would bid the black hold that too. It was easy to frighten the superstitious ex-slaves. In 1870 and in 1871 by "Force Acts" Congress adopted extreme measures against such methods and the Ku Klux Klan was broken up.

Furthermore, the disfranchised whites, through their Northern friends, carried on a persistent agitation in Congress in favor of giving them back the suffrage. Congress, as we have seen, yielded but slowly, and lent its favor rather to the negroes than to their old masters. It was not till 1872 that a law was passed by Congress wholly removing from the Southern whites the political disabilities resulting from the war. From that time the "carpet-bagger," the "scalawag," and the negro gradually lost their political domination.

In the presidential campaign of 1872 opposition to General Grant broke out in the ranks of his own party and culminated in the formation of the Liberal Republican Party with Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, as its candidate. The Republicans renominated Grant, and the Democrats joined with the bolting Liberal Republicans in support of Greeley. The followers of Greeley, among them such distinguished men as ex-Secretary Seward, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, ex-minister to England Charles Francis Adams and United States Senator Charles Sumner, denounced corruption in public life and stood for a more liberal treatment of the Southerners and for a single term for the President. The rank and file of the nation, however, filled with the spirit of the common soldiers of the late war, refused to rally behind a candidate, no matter how distinguished, who, like Greeley, had signed the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis, but cast their ballots in overwhelming numbers for their beloved general, who was triumphantly reelected by a vote of 286 to 63 in the electoral colleges. The Prohibition party made its first appearance in this campaign, demanding the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors and the extension of suffrage to women, but it polled less than 6,000 votes. The party of the Labor Reformers, the first modern

Congressional agitation in favor of the Southern States.

The presidential campaign of 1872.

attempt of labor to enter politics, polled a small vote, Wendell Phillips of Massachusetts, former abolition leader, being an ardent champion of the new party.

THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION

E.

After the panic of 1873 had filled the country with an army of distressed, who, as is usual after great financial panics, laid the blame for their woes on the national administration, and after the corruption in public life had assumed the proportions of a national scandal, a victory for the opposing Democratic party in the presidential contest of 1876 seemed highly probable. The Democratic "tidal wave" in the congressional elections of 1874 increased the hopes of that party. The Democrats, encouraged, put forward their strongest leader, Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York. As a lawyer of great ability Tilden had risen to the governorship by his activities in connection with the overthrow of the Tweed ring; and as governor he had brought himself into national prominence by his brilliant administration of state affairs. The demand of the Democrats was for reform. Their platform was a scathing arraignment of the party in power. After detailing the various charges of party and individual wrongdoing currently brought against the Republicans, it concluded: "The demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform."

The Democrats in the presidential campaign of 1876.

James G. Blaine of Maine, former Speaker of the House of Representatives and then United States Senator, devised an effective weapon for the Republicans to use in parrying these thrusts. In eloquent speeches in Congress he deliberately set about to revive all the fiery passions of war time. He harked back to the charge that Jefferson Davis was responsible for the terrible sufferings of the Union prisoners at Andersonville, Georgia, during the war. The Southerners replied in even greater passion, and allowed themselves to be lured farther and farther along by the wily Republican leaders, till the claim could be made that the "old rebel war spirit" still dominated the Democratic party. The ruse was wonderfully effective, the way was prepared for another presidential campaign on the old issues, while reform dropped more or less out of sight. The nomination of the Republicans did not fall to Blaine, who was the leading candidate, but to a dark horse, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, who was serving his third term as governor

The Republicans in the campaign of 1876.

of that state. The Liberal Republicans, discouraged by their poor showing in 1872, named no candidates.

As in 1872, two small parties again placed candidates in the field, the Prohibitionists who polled 9,500 votes, and the Greenback party.

Two small parties. The party of the Labor Reformers of 1872 was extinct, but its followers were appealed to by the Greenbackers, who united farming and labor interests and called for an unlimited issue by the government of the greenback currency of the war times. This was the first entrance of the agricultural interests as such into politics. Peter Cooper, the Greenback candidate, polled 82,000 votes, mainly in the West.

The dispute over the election and its settlement. When the returns of election day came in, no one could tell whether the Democratic or Republican electors had been chosen in the three states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, while a dispute over the eligibility of an elector complicated the result in Oregon. A majority in the electoral colleges at this time was 185, and without the disputed votes, 22 in all, Tilden had 184 to 163 for Hayes. One more vote would elect the Democratic candidate, while the entire 22 were necessary to give the election to the Republicans. Both parties claimed that in each of the three contested Southern States the election had gone in favor of its own electoral ticket. When the joint session of the two houses of Congress met formally to count the electoral votes, the roll of the states was called alphabetically and all went well till Florida was reached. There were two reports from that state. Then the question had to be met, who should decide whether the Democratic or the Republican electors had been chosen in Florida. The Constitution contained no explicit direction to govern the situation. It provided, that "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." The point of difficulty was, who should do the counting. Did this function belong to the President of the Senate, or to the Senate, or to the House of Representatives, or to both Houses acting together? The difficulty was increased by the fact that, while the Senate was Republican, the House of Representatives was Democratic. A decision by Congress itself, with partisanship running high, was manifestly impossible. Accordingly Congress agreed on a special law for the immediate situation, which provided for the appointment of an Electoral Commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five members of the Supreme Court, who by the strictly partisan vote of eight to seven, decided each disputed case in favor of the Republicans. The joint session of Congress duly accepted the report of the

Electoral Commission and gave the twenty-two votes to Hayes, who was declared elected at ten minutes past four o'clock on the morning of March 2, two days before inauguration, by an electoral vote of 185 to 184.

The tactics employed by Andrew Jackson and his followers against John Quincy Adams, 1825-1829, were now repeated by the Democrats against President Hayes. The new President was called the "Fraud President," "President *de facto*," etc. On the day of his inauguration certain Democratic papers came out in mourning, one in New York showing a picture of the President with the word "fraud" marked across his face; the President was even greeted in public as "Old Eight to Seven," in jeering reference to the vote of the Electoral Commission.

The Democratic hostility to President Hayes.

The validity of President Hayes's title to the office was not left undisputed even after he was inaugurated. A committee of investigation, appointed by the House of Representatives, uncovered undoubted electoral frauds on the part of the Republicans in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which, it was supposed, would destroy the prestige of President Hayes and his party and lead to their certain defeat in 1880. Driven to extremity, the Republicans in self-defense turned on Tilden and the Democrats by publishing in the *New York Tribune* cipher telegrams sent through the Western Union Telegraph Company during the height of the late campaign, which tended to show Democratic frauds in the same states. At this sudden turn of the investigation Tilden appeared personally before the congressional committee and effectively disproved any personal share in the fraudulent practices; but the Republicans had gained their point, suspicion had been cast upon the leader of the rival party in retaliation for the charges against their own candidate; and neither party could make political capital in 1880 out of the election frauds of 1876. Although each party undoubtedly practiced fraud in the election of 1876, there is no reason to believe that either Hayes or Tilden was personally implicated, for the character of each was above reproach.

Investigations by Congress.

One of the first acts of President Hayes was to withdraw the United States troops from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and with the departure of the troops the negro governments were supplanted by the rule of the whites, so that the episode may fitly be regarded as the end of Reconstruction. The political results of the President's act were disastrous to himself, for, by his leniency toward the Southerners, he angered the "Stalwart" faction of his party, which desired still further

The withdrawal of the troops from the South.

punishment of the South and dubbed the President and his supporters, for their mild, half-way measures, "Half-Breeds." The "Stalwarts" were also estranged by the President's appointment of Daniel M. Key of Tennessee, an officer of the Confederate army, as Postmaster General. The country, however, was outliving the issues of the war. The day was passing when politicians could manufacture political capital out of the old passions of North and South.

B. J. W.

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1865-1877

The foreign questions arising between 1865 and 1877 were, as a rule, direct inheritances from the Civil War. Successful war had left in the North a feeling of triumph, and a bold, aggressive spirit was exhibited in the dealings of the United States with other nations. A foreign nation could no longer safely defy the United States, as France had done in Mexico during the Civil War. When General Grant freed the hands of his country by the defeat of the armies of the Confederacy, the United States ordered fifty thousand troops to the banks of the Rio Grande River and demanded that the French leave the American continent. France complied, Maximilian was executed by the Mexicans, and the Monroe Doctrine was more strongly entrenched than ever. To secure the withdrawal of the French from the continent without war was a distinguished diplomatic triumph for William H. Seward, who served as Secretary of State from the beginning of Lincoln's administration in 1861 to the end of Johnson's administration in 1869.

The expulsion of the French from Mexico.

Expansion of territory, which from 1840 to 1860 had always precipitated discussion of the extension of slavery, could now go on without that menace. In 1867 by the purchase of Alaska from Russia, the United States acquired nearly 600,000 square miles of new territory. The price paid was \$7,200,000. As in the case of the Louisiana purchase, numerous objectors arose, who in derision termed Alaska "Walrussia," "Our Great National Ice-House," etc.; but Secretary Seward, to whom is due the credit for the step, was not to be swayed from his course, and time has proved his wisdom. The furs, timber, fish, gold, iron, and other products of Alaska have proved to be worth hundreds of millions of dollars. The value of her output of all kinds from the time of her acquisition down to the end of 1911 reached \$429,000,000.

The purchase of Alaska.

President Johnson and Secretary Seward made every effort, though without success, to induce Congress to consent to the purchase of the Danish West Indian islands of St. Thomas and St. John. Somewhat

later President Grant also failed when he sought to lead Congress to annex the independent island republic of Santo Domingo, which had won its freedom from France soon after the separation of the United States from Great Britain. When the natives of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific Ocean offered the islands to the United States in 1877, the offer was refused. The wave of national expansion which followed the Northern victory over Southern arms was at an end, and another was not to set in till the war with Spain in 1898.

The failure of other schemes for territorial annexation.

For her part in assisting the Confederate States during the late war through fitting out the *Alabama* and kindred Southern vessels, the victorious Union called Great Britain to strict account. After prolonged controversy and threats on either side, the demands of the United States were submitted by a treaty, or direct agreement of the two nations concerned, to the arbitration of a commission, which was to convene in Geneva, Switzerland; and both Great Britain and the United States agreed to regard the findings of the arbitrators "as a full, perfect and final settlement of all the claims." One arbitrator was appointed by the President of the United States, one by the Queen of England, and one each by the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, and the Emperor of Brazil. The treaty of Washington, 1871, which provided for the arbitration, was a diplomatic victory for the United States, for in the rules contained in it to guide the arbitrators in their deliberations, Great Britain practically recognized at last as valid international law the principles of Washington's neutrality proclamation. Nations in general now accept these principles.

The treaty of Washington.

For breaking these rules Great Britain was required by the tribunal to pay to the United States \$15,500,000 in gold. The republic was gratified not only at the amount of the award, but also at the fact that the verdict set right what they considered an enormous grievance, while friends of peace the world over welcomed the object lesson of peaceful arbitration as a means of settling international disputes.

The Geneva award on the *Alabama* claims.

The treaty of Washington dealt also with other questions at issue between the two governments, such as fishery rights on the banks of Newfoundland, the navigation of the St. Lawrence and Lake Michigan, and the boundary between the domains of the two countries in the far Northwest, which had been in dispute since the treaty regarding Oregon in 1846. The successful conclusion of the treaty reflected great credit on Grant's Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish.

Other topics in the treaty of Washington.

Secretary Fish also performed the service of bringing to an end a war between Spain and her old colonies, Peru, Chile, and Ecuador.

**Successful
mediation
in South
America.**

"In the character of mediator," he used the good offices of the United States to bring representatives of the four warring powers together in Washington, where they signed an armistice which they agreed not to break with-

out three years' notice to the government of the United States. In the fifties the South American states had distrusted their sister republic of the north on account of the Mexican War and the Walker filibustering expeditions against Central America. A change of feeling took place during the Civil War, when efforts to extend slavery southward definitely ceased, and a sense of common danger following the French invasion of Mexico began to draw North and South America together. This growing sympathy was increased by Secretary Fish's happy mediation.

After the decade of intermittent excitement in the fifties over Cuba, which was marked by filibustering expeditions, the *Black Warrior* affair, and the Ostend Manifesto, relations with the Spanish rulers of the island were peaceful for a few years.

**More trouble
with Spain
over Cuba.**

In 1868, however, a fierce war of independence broke out on the island, and President Grant would have recognized the Cubans as belligerents, as Spain had recognized the Confederates who rose against the United States, had he not been deterred by the counsel of Secretary Fish. Said the Secretary: "They (the Cubans) have no army, no courts, do not occupy a single town or hamlet, to say nothing of a seaport." In fact, they met few of the conditions required by international law as necessary prior conditions to a recognition of belligerency.

In spite of the Secretary's efforts for peace the country became involved in difficulties with Spain by the *Virginus* affair, and for a few weeks war seemed unavoidable. The *Virginus*, which was

**The *Virginus*
affair.**

a vessel owned by the Cuban insurgents fraudulently carrying the American flag, was captured on the high seas by the Spaniards while employed in aid of the rebellion, and after a trial in a Cuban port, over fifty of her crew were summarily executed. Among the victims were nine American and sixteen British subjects. Demands for reparation were made on Spain, which finally consented to restore the *Virginus* and her surviving passengers and crew to the United States, and to salute the flag of the United States unless Spain should prove that the *Virginus* had no right to fly the flag of the United States. The Attorney General of the United States was forced at last to admit that the vessel was not rightfully a United States vessel, and the Spanish

salute to the American flag was dispensed with. The vessel was delivered up to the United States, but it is now generally admitted that Spain was in the right in seizing the ship, since the *Virginus*, belonging to unrecognized insurgents, was a pirate, subject to universal capture.

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ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

A. W. TOURGEE, *Fool's Errand*; J. C. HARRIS, *Gabriel Tolliver*; E. C. STEDMAN, *Horace Greeley*; L. W. BALDWIN, *Yankee School Teacher in Virginia*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What were the mistakes of Andrew Johnson? Give a defense of Johnson. Is it fitting for the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to seek a presidential nomination? Name the soldiers who have secured a presidential nomination. Why do the politicians prefer such men as candidates? Was the democratic nomination of Seymour in 1868 politically wise? How do you account for the Liberal Republican movement? Why is the South "solid" for the Democrats? Look up in a recent life of Hayes what promises the friends of Hayes made to the Southerners before the completion of the count of the electoral vote in 1877, and then draw a comparison between the presidential contest of 1824 and that of 1876. Account for the wave of territorial expansion that accompanied and followed the war. Compare this with the wave of territorial expansion during and after the Mexican War. What were the leading issues in current politics before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1868, 1872, and 1876?

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B.

CHAPTER XXVI

AGRARIAN AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST

INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS UNDER PRESIDENT HAYES

ALTHOUGH organized labor had made a poor showing in the arena of national politics in 1872 and 1876, its struggle against capital did not lack aggressive force. Capital and labor were arrayed against one another as never before, and almost every great question of the Hayes administration touched upon some phase of the struggle. Industrial contests on a large scale stirred the country, and aroused universal apprehension when it was realized that the antagonisms of capital and labor, instead of dying out, were increasing in bitterness.

Labor troubles in the past had usually arisen in times of prosperity, when prices were rising and wages were not keeping pace with prices.

Industrial unrest. There were many strikes in the flourishing times of Andrew Jackson and in the days of high prices during the Civil War. In 1877 the largest strikes in the history of the country to that time took place for the opposite reason that, with falling prices, employers were quite ready to grade wages according to profits, and were reducing wages on every hand. More than one hundred thousand employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and other railroads left their work rather than submit. In the crisis soldiers were massed in various railroad centers for the protection of property, and severe clashes took place between them and the strikers. The fiercest struggles occurred in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where blood was shed profusely and millions of dollars' worth of property were destroyed. At the request of the governors of several of the states, the President took the unpopular step of sending national troops into the disturbed districts to keep order.

The 82,000 votes polled by the Greenback party in the presidential election of 1876 were not a true measure of the discontent of the agrarian classes in the middle and the late seventies. The **Agrarian discontent.** Grangers, or Patrons of Husbandry, whose membership reached 150,000 in 1875, waged ardent warfare in behalf of the agrarian

interests. They were particularly roused to wrath against the railroad corporations because of the latter's custom of "watering their stock," that is, of issuing to the stockholders extra stock which did not represent actual paid-up value, and on the basis of this paying large dividends. Freight rates, they argued, which brought in revenue enough to pay handsome dividends on "watered" stock, were too high.

The Western States proceeded against the offending corporations through their state legislatures, Illinois by regulating the charges in public grain elevators and Wisconsin by limiting the passenger and freight rates of the railroads. The control of business corporations to this extent was an innovation in state legislation, and the action of the legislatures was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States by the complaining roads. In these "Granger Cases," as they were called, the court ruled that private property, such as ferries, wharves, hackney coaches, warehouses, and railroads, "affected with a public interest," that is "devoted to a public use," must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, even to the extent of state regulation of their rates. In answer to the objection that the state legislatures might prescribe "unreasonable" rates, the court admitted that this was possible, but took the position that the remedy for such unjust legislation was not in the courts but in the state legislatures. "For protection against abuses by legislatures," said the court, "the people must resort to the polls, not to the courts." Within less than twenty-five years the court reversed its position on this latter point, and held that it did have the power to review the economic legislation of the states, and, if necessary, to set it aside if unjust rates were imposed. The first part of the great decision, concerning the power of the various states to regulate the railroad rates, still stands, though it was somewhat restricted by a decision of the court in the next decade.

The regulation of railroad rates.

The congressional elections of 1878 also indicated the strength of the opposition to organized capital at the time. The defiant Grangers were exultant because of their victories over the railroads in the rate cases, and in the industrial centers labor had not laid aside the asperities and hard feelings of the strikes and riots of 1877. Organized labor and organized agricultural interests, under these conditions, combined to strengthen the Greenback party on the common ground of hatred for conservative organized capital, and that party polled over 1,000,000 votes. The older parties were frightened at the waxing strength of the new movement.

The congressional elections of 1878.

From the beginning of the year 1862 to January 1, 1879, there was no gold or silver money in circulation. The people were using paper

money entirely, both the well-secured national bank notes and the greenbacks. The value of both kinds of notes rose and fell with the confidence of the people in the ability of the government to redeem its promises in gold, and this fluctuation in value was made apparent to the general public in the rise and fall of prices. The constant shifting of values was acceptable to the speculators, and also to the debtor classes, who were glad to seize the opportunity to pay off their debts in cheap money. These advantages to certain classes had helped to bring into existence the Greenback party, with its platform in favor of making the greenbacks the permanent currency of the country and issuing them in unlimited amounts. Backed by conservative business interests, Congress successfully, though with great difficulty, withstood the demand. Instead of issuing more greenbacks, it decided to reduce the amount of those already in circulation, and to discourage rather than encourage the speculating tendencies of the people. It set the first day of the year 1879 as the date when it would begin to redeem the greenbacks in gold. The Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, amassed nearly \$150,000,000 in gold in the vaults of the treasury in preparation for this resumption of specie payments, which so impressed the people with the government's financial soundness that they no longer cared for the redemption of the notes. The paper money was more convenient to carry than coin for the purposes of ordinary business transactions, and from that day to this about \$350,000,000 worth of greenbacks, backed by a gold reserve which has usually stood at about \$150,000,000, have circulated as money on a par with gold in every section of the country. They are literally as good as gold.

Whether or not to coin silver was another important financial problem of the day. Up to 1873 the government had coined mainly gold and but little silver, inasmuch as the mine-owners generally found it more profitable to dispose of their small stock of silver for use in the arts than to bring it to the mint for coinage. Congress in 1873 passed a law for the demonetization of silver, that is, it ceased coining silver dollars altogether. Almost immediately thereafter, by the discovery of new mines, the supply of silver suddenly became greater than the demand for it in the arts, and the price of silver went down. In their misfortune the mine-owners turned to the government with the request that Congress begin again to coin silver as well as gold. The debtor classes and the sufferers from the panic of 1873 welcomed the proposal as another means of increasing the volume of currency and improving their own condition.

7. The greenback currency.

The question of the coinage of silver.

It was proposed that all silver brought to the mints be coined, as before 1873, upon the payment of a small fee to reimburse the government for the cost of the operation, and that a double standard of value, silver as well as gold, be maintained. This plan, popularly known as the free coinage of silver, was an inflationist scheme almost as radical as that of the Greenbackers. When the supporters of free silver perceived that the upholders of gold as the single standard of value were strong enough in Congress to defeat the proposed change, they agreed to a compromise bill which was passed over the veto of President Hayes, known as the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. This provided that the government, though still remaining on the gold basis, should purchase not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver every month for coinage into silver dollars. The compromise law remained on the statute books till 1890, but under its operations the demand for free silver, far from being satisfied, went on increasing.

The Bland-Allison Act.

It was natural that with the widespread attention given to industrial improvement some heed should be paid to the demand for the introduction into the government service of the principles of modern business efficiency. From the days of Jackson the political offices within the gift of the government had been looked upon as rewards to be handed round to party favorites for political services rendered. Favoritism, corruption, and inefficiency were the natural accompaniments of the system. One of the first suggestions of the distribution of offices according to ability without regard to party came from Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts during the Civil War. After the war, regularly every year for many years, Representative Jenckes of Rhode Island introduced a bill in the House of Representatives embodying the new ideas. President Grant in 1871, with the faint support of Congress, which was soon withdrawn, made a few spasmodic beginnings toward reform; but little of permanence was accomplished.

The demand for a business-like reform of the civil service.

President Hayes heartily supported the new movement. Within a few weeks after his inauguration he startled the leaders of his party by an order that no government official should take active part in a political campaign nor pay assessments on his salary for political purposes. Suiting his action to his words, he removed Chester A. Arthur and Alonzo B. Cornell from their offices in the New York customhouse for refusing to honor his order, and to Arthur's successor he wrote, "Let no man be put out because he is a friend of Mr. Arthur, and no one put in merely because he is our friend. The good of the service should be the

President Hayes's support of the reform.

whole end in view." The President failed in his efforts to induce Congress to come to his point of view and enact the new ideas into law, but he succeeded in arousing public sentiment. Local civil service reform leagues sprang up in various sections, and the National Civil Service Reform League, which still exists, came into existence. The professional politicians of every party, who realized that with the accomplishment of the desired reform their "plums" would slip away from them, bitterly opposed the stand of the President.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880

Hayes administered the affairs of the country in troubled times. Every great issue that arose in his term of office called forth a storm of opposition. The election contest of 1876, the withdrawal of troops from the South, the antagonism of capital and labor, financial reform, and the reform of the civil service, all tended to bring unpopularity upon the administration. Moreover, the enactment of any important legislation in the last two years of the President's term was blocked by the Democratic control of both houses of Congress. President Hayes had declared at the beginning of his administration that he would not be a candidate for reelection, so that he was definitely out of the race for the presidency in 1880.

Without doubt the real leader of the Republican party at this time was not President Hayes but Senator James G. Blaine. Two obstacles, however, stood in the way of Blaine's nomination to succeed Hayes; first, a suspicion that he had shared in the corruption of Grant's administration, and second, the implacable opposition of his fellow Republican, Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York. Blaine was a hail fellow well met, Conkling dignified and self-conscious. In the sixties, while both men were members of the House of Representatives and before Blaine had been elevated to the speakership, in the heat of an angry personal controversy Blaine had ridiculed Conkling on the floor of the House, accusing him of a "haughty disdain," a "grandiloquent swell," and a "majestic, supereminent, overpowering turkey-gobbler strut." The offended Conkling never forgave the words. He worked against his enemy in the national Republican convention of 1876 and on every other occasion that presented itself. When the convention of 1880 was at hand, a portion of the party, with Conkling at their head, presented as their candidate ex-President Grant, who had just returned from a trip around the world and was still immensely popular. No President, however, not even Washington, had had a third term, so that many sincere admirers of the Soldier-President now turned from

Hayes's
difficult ad-
ministration.

Blaine as
the possible
presidential
candidate of
the Republi-
cans.

him for fear of encouraging "Cæsarism." A third candidate for the Republican nomination, in addition to Blaine and Grant, was Hayes's Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman of Ohio. After balloting thirty-five times the Republican convention was "stampeded" on the thirty-sixth ballot for General James A. Garfield of Ohio, who had made the nominating speech for Sherman.

The Democrats passed over Tilden and gave their nomination to General Winfield Scott Hancock, one of the heroes of the northern army at Gettysburg; the Prohibitionists named General Neal Dow, father of the prohibition law in Maine, the first of its kind in the country, and the Greenbackers put forward General James B. Weaver. Every candidate in the campaign had been a general in the Union army.

The other nominations.

Privileged for the first time since 1860 to take part in a presidential contest without the presence of federal troops, the reconstructed Southern States carried their grievances against the Republican party to the polls and voted solidly with the Democrats, and "solid" for that party they have been ever since with few exceptions. The same passions of sectionalism were at work in the North for the Republicans, and Garfield was elected with a popular vote of 4,450,000 and 214 electoral votes, to a popular vote of 4,400,000 and 155 electoral votes for Hancock; Weaver polled a popular vote of 300,000 with no electoral votes, and Dow a popular vote of 10,000.

The result at the polls.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

James A. Garfield had quitted the Union army as a major general before the war was over to accept a seat in the national House of Representatives, where he served without a break for eighteen years. While a member of the House, he was elected to the United States Senate from Ohio, and then to his credentials to membership in both Houses of Congress there was added at the same time the title to the chief magistracy. Garfield had been a useful though not a brilliant congressman, and by his election to the presidency the hope was raised that he would be able to unite the warring Republican factions of the Stalwarts and the Half-Breeds.

James A. Garfield.

This was not to be. Though both factions temporarily buried the hatchet during the campaign, trouble began as soon as the President made his first nominations to public office. Bitter feeling arose in the Senate when the President ignored the hard and fast custom, known as "senatorial courtesy." This custom demands that the President, in making

Republican quarrels over the patronage.

nominations to public office in any particular state, follow the recommendations of the Senators from that state; and the Senators usually stand together to coerce the executive into conforming to the practice. Garfield had already angered the two Senators from New York, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, by refusing to follow their recommendations as to the formation of his cabinet, and by daring to make Conkling's enemy, James G. Blaine, Secretary of State. In a further unexpected show of independence the President sent to the Senate the nomination of one Robertson as collector of customs at the port of New York without first consulting the two Senators. When, contrary to "senatorial courtesy," the Senate confirmed the nomination, Senators Conkling and Platt in anger resigned their seats and to vindicate their stand sought reflection in the New York legislature. In this they were both defeated. Following closely after these events, came the exposure of frauds in the letting of contracts for carrying the mails along certain routes, called "star routes." The vigorous prosecution of the guilty by order of the President threw the spoilsmen into consternation.

On July 2, 1881, as he was walking arm in arm with Secretary Blaine in the depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad in Washington, the President was shot in the back by a disappointed office-seeker and died on September 19. The assassin called himself a "Stalwart of the Stalwarts," and a "lawyer, theologian, and a politician," who had done the country a service by opening the way for the "Stalwart" Vice President, Chester A. Arthur, to succeed to power. The madman was given a fair trial, and was convicted and hanged.

The death of the President turned public attention to the spoils system as the responsible cause of the tragedy. To the surprise and delight of the friends of the merit system, the "Stalwart" Arthur in the presidential chair sided with them, and with his executive approval the Civil Service Reform Act, or the Pendleton Act, introduced in the Senate by George H. Pendleton of Ohio, was enacted into law in 1883. After swaying national politics for over half a century, Andrew Jackson's principle that "to the victor belong the spoils" had received its first official check, and to the credit of Congress be it said that it has never yet abandoned the general principle placed on the statute books in 1883.

By the new law, provision was made for competitive examinations for entrance into the various branches of the civil service, and for appointment to office according to the ranking obtained by the candidates in the examinations. Removals from

The assassination of the President.

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1883.

Provisions of the new law.

office were still possible, but incentive to make them for political reasons every four years was largely taken away by the provision of the law requiring that all appointments be made, not from the ranks of political favorites, but from the list of those standing highest in the examinations. The new rules were not to apply to all the offices in the national administration but only to those designated by the President or by Congress. At first few offices were placed under the provisions of the law, but each President since has made some extension of the system. The death of a President was a high price to pay for the reform, but few laws passed in the last half century have accomplished more in the interests of good government. New York State enacted a law in 1883 along the same lines as the national law, to govern its own civil service; and Massachusetts and a few other states have followed her example. Various cities have adopted similar regulations.

IMMIGRATION

Organized labor, bent on keeping down the supply of labor in order to maintain as high a standard of wages as possible, had long stood consistently opposed to foreign immigration, but only after the labor unions had become a powerful factor in national life did Congress pay attention to their demands. The first law of the United States for the restriction of immigration, marking the end of the country's traditional policy of welcome to all foreigners, was passed in 1882. Previous to this time there had been some few restrictions on immigration by such states as were directly affected; for example by New York, which had excluded certain classes. By the national law, which was in many respects a copy of existing state laws, lunatics and convicts were excluded, all who were liable to become a public charge, and, by an act of 1885, all contract laborers, that is, all laborers coming into the country under a contract. At this time most of the immigrants were from the countries of Northern Europe.

The presence of thousands of Chinese laborers on the Pacific coast, attracted by the prospects of work in the gold mines and in the construction of railroads, was highly objectionable to the labor unions. The Asiatics worked for low wages, lived in squalid quarters on a few cents a day, and in general competed with the whites on terms which to the latter were intolerable. Their presence, too, threatened to create another race problem, which might some day rival in difficulty the Negro or the Indian problem. President Hayes vetoed a bill passed in his administration to exclude the Chinese altogether, as contrary to the existing treaty with China; but before he went out of office he succeeded in making a new treaty with China,

Restriction
of immigra-
tion.

Chinese im-
migration.

B. W.

which gave to the United States discretionary power to "regulate, limit, or suspend" but not to "absolutely prohibit" the coming of Chinese laborers into the country. Under this treaty, in the administration of Arthur, Congress passed a law to exclude the Chinese for twenty years, which seemed to the President too long a term, and he refused his approval. A compromise bill, fixing the term of exclusion at ten years, was then passed and received the signature of the President. This was renewed later under another president, and the exclusion is still in force. Though the law seems harsh, every nation undoubtedly possesses the right to expel from its shores any aliens whose presence may be considered dangerous to its interests, and likewise to refuse admission to all whom it may consider undesirable.

THE ELECTION OF A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

The presidential campaign of 1884 was almost entirely devoid of great issues, but abounded in personal abuse heaped upon the two leading candidates. Although Arthur had administered his office well, the popularity of Blaine, the real leader of the Republican party, overtopped him, and the party nomination went to the "plumed knight," as Blaine was called in the Republican convention of 1876. The Democrats named as their candidate Governor Grover Cleveland of New York, the Greenbackers General Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts, and the Prohibitionists Governor St. John of Kansas. Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood was the candidate of a small Equal Rights party, which demanded woman's suffrage.

As Secretary of State during the short term of President Garfield, Blaine had greatly enhanced his reputation by his vigorous and confident, though not always successful, conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation. Intervening in a quarrel between Peru and Chile in South America to soften the demands of the latter power upon conquered Peru, he had made it apparent that he believed that the United States possessed the right to interfere in the troubles of the South American republics with one another. He had attempted, unsuccessfully, to induce Congress to arrange reciprocity treaties with certain countries, that is, agreements for mutual free trade in specified articles. He had also unsuccessfully endeavored to induce Great Britain to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, so that the United States might independently build and own a Panama or Nicaragua canal.

As soon as the presidential campaign of 1884 began, ill luck seemed to dog the path of the Republican leader. In the first place,

The presidential nominations of 1884.

Blaine's record as Secretary of State.

the old suspicion of corruption attaching to his name caused many Republicans, nicknamed Mugwumps, to desert to Cleveland. Late in the campaign, by dining with a company of millionaires in New York City, Blaine gave his detractors opportunity to charge that he was the candidate of the capitalists, while on the same day, in receiving a company of Protestant ministers, he allowed their spokesman, unrebuked, to refer to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This disparagement of the Roman Catholic Church, unseemly in itself and extremely impolitic in the pivotal industrial state of New York which had a large Roman Catholic population, Blaine did not rebuke, probably through inadvertence due to physical weakness, for he surely bore no animosity against that church. To crown all, Roscoe Conkling refused to lift his hand or to say a word for his old enemy, and Conkling men by the thousand stayed away from the polls on election day or voted for Cleveland. Without New York, Blaine received 182 electoral votes to 183 for Cleveland; and a special recount, the result of which was announced ten days after the election, gave New York and the election to Cleveland by 1,149 votes! The "grandiloquent swell" and the "turkey-gobbler strut" were avenged. It was said that in Conkling's own county in New York the Republican defection was greater than Cleveland's majority in the state. The Prohibitionists cast 150,000 votes, and the Greenbackers in this, their last campaign, 175,000.

James G. Blaine's race for the presidency suggests comparison with that of Henry Clay. Both had been great Speakers of the House of Representatives, great Senators, and great Secretaries of State; both had failed to receive the nomination when their party was successful at the polls; and both, when at last chosen, went down to defeat through the defection of a small group in their own party, chiefly in New York State, which had been alienated by the candidate's own mistakes.

James G.
Blaine and
Henry Clay.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

Grover Cleveland was the first President elected after the Civil War who had not taken an active part in that struggle. He had been district attorney of his home county of Erie, New York, sheriff of the county, and mayor of the city of Buffalo. While mayor he was elected governor of the state by the phenomenal majority of 192,000, and while still governor was elevated to the presidency. As mayor and as governor he had proved to be a singularly courageous and businesslike executive, whose stirring veto messages,

Grover
Cleveland.

Thomas Hendricks Vice P
Ind.

now in accord with popular opinion and now boldly against it, won the respect even of his opponents. Although it was a great triumph for his party to return to the presidency after its exclusion since 1861, the victory was not complete, since from 1885 to 1889 the Democrats lacked control of the Senate.

Believing, like Hayes, in the representation of the reconstructed

President Cleveland and the people of the Southern States. states in the President's cabinet, Cleveland invited two ex-Confederates, L. Q.

C. Lamar of Mississippi and A. H. Garland of Arkansas, to enter his cabinet. Southerners were sent abroad as ministers and consuls, and were awarded a due share of the other offices within the gift of the President. This desire to restore to the South its former position and dignity in the national government and to improve the state of feeling between the two sections led Cleveland to go too far in at



GROVER CLEVELAND

least one instance. By an executive order he directed the Southern battle flags in the War Department at Washington to be restored to the Southern States. One Northern governor, wrongly concluding that the order included the restoration of the Confederate flags in the various state capitols, sent a fiery telegram to the President, "No rebel flag will be returned while I am Governor." The order was soon revoked. This friendliness to the South and the veto of many pensions bills made Cleveland unpopular among the old soldiers of the North and their partisans.

Most of the leading questions of the first Cleveland administration were directly connected with the industrial situation. The open warfare between capital and labor, which had already caused disturbance in the administration of Hayes, broke out with renewed vigor in 1886. The leading champions of labor's cause at this time were the Knights of Labor, under the leadership of T. V. Powderly. After ceasing to be a secret order in 1882, the Knights so rapidly increased in numbers that

Industrial disturbances in the year 1886.

in the critical year of 1886, which like the year 1877 was a time of industrial unrest, the order contained over 700,000 members. There were one thousand five hundred strikes in the country in 1886 and almost as many in the next year. In the southwestern states in 1886 six thousand miles of railway were tied up by a strike for over seven weeks. In New York City a strike on the street railroads dragged on for several months, and at the height of the trouble every car had to proceed under the guard of policemen. In the city of Chicago over sixty thousand men and women of different trades left their work.

At the McCormick reaper works in the latter city, fierce riots broke out, in the course of which the rioters were fired upon by the police and several workmen shot. On the next day, when the strikers came together in Haymarket Square, Chicago, to denounce the "atrocious attack of the police" on their fellow workmen, bitter speeches were made, and the police interfered to break up the meeting. In the confusion a bomb was exploded, killing seven of the policemen and wounding sixty.

The anarchist riots in Chicago.

Coming at a time of general agitation over the mutual rights and duties of labor and capital, the tragedy filled law-abiding citizens with consternation. The assault was discovered to be the work of anarchists, who, though not affiliated with the labor unions, thought the time of unrest a favorable opportunity to strike a blow for their cause. An anarchist is one who does not believe in organized government, and who, on the theory that all men ought to be allowed to control their own actions, aims to destroy existing government, some going to the extreme of advocating even murder to gain their end. The punishment of the ringleaders of the Haymarket mob was demanded, and after a quick trial seven of the eight arrested for complicity in the murder were condemned to death. Of these seven, four were executed, one committed suicide, and the sentences of two were commuted to life imprisonment.

The fate of the anarchists.

Though they did not go to the extremes of anarchism, the friends of labor were demanding radical changes in the social order. Socialism, which advocates the control by the state of the means of production, was slowly gaining ground. Socialistic principles had been advocated in the United States as far back as Andrew Jackson's presidency; the movement then subsided, but in 1874, in New York City, there was formed the Social Democratic Workingmen's party. Though the Knights of Labor were not avowedly a socialist organization, their demands for the common ownership of the land and for the government control of such public utilities as railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, embodied socialistic principles.

The growth of socialism.

The same organization called for better conditions in the mines and factories, an eight-hour day, the prohibition of child labor, compulsory arbitration of disputes between capital and labor, and an income tax. Men and women by the thousand were stimulated to serious thought along these lines by two popular books of the period, Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," an imaginary description of an ideal socialistic community in the year 2000 A.D., and Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," a discussion of the related problems of land laws and taxation.

Congress had already recognized the strength of the labor movement. In response to its demands, a law was passed in 1882 for the restriction of immigration, and at an even earlier date a provision had been made for an eight-hour day for all laborers employed by or on behalf of the national government. In Cleveland's time the national Bureau of Labor was established to gather statistics of labor from all parts of the Union, and in the House of Representatives a standing committee on labor was formed. In 1886 the President sent to Congress the first message in the history of the government devoted entirely to the problems of labor, in which he advocated a permanent national commission of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between capital and labor. Congress consented to pass such an arbitration law, to apply, however, only to the differences between the railroads and their employees. The arbitration provided by this law was not to be compulsory nor was any means provided to secure the enforcement of the verdicts reached. Four states followed the national example by the enactment of state laws for the voluntary arbitration of labor disputes.

The Knights of Labor declined after 1886 before the rising power of the American Federation of Labor, a rival organization formed in 1881.

The American Federation of Labor.

While the older society attempted to blot out the individual unions and merge them all in one national society, the new organization preserved the individuality of the separate unions and brought them together only on questions of common interest. The Federation entered upon remarkable growth under the leadership of its president, Samuel Gompers, who had come to the United States as a poor immigrant from England during the Civil War; its membership rose from 262,000 in 1881 to over 2,000,000 in 1916.

The unfair rates and other abuses of the railroads, of which the farming sections had complained in the seventies, had not been corrected. As the volume of crops in the West increased with the growth of the country in that direction, the dissatisfaction with the railroads grew stronger. The gen-

The abuses of the railroads.

eral unrest in the industrial centers undoubtedly tended to increase the agrarian discontent. The railroad rates were in some cases actually advancing as the result of the continued consolidation of rival roads. Shippers chafed under discriminations in rates, by which certain localities, and even certain industries, secured lower rates than others. To compensate them for low rates on "long hauls," necessary because of the competition of rival roads, high rates were charged on "short hauls," where there was not the same competition. Competitive roads occasionally "pooled," that is, combined their interests, and by common agreement raised the rates at the expense of the public. State regulation of railroad rates, which had been upheld by the Supreme Court in the Granger cases in 1877, to the great satisfaction of the farming classes, were in 1886 declared unconstitutional by the same tribunal when applied to interstate commerce, on the ground that interstate commerce lay within the jurisdiction of Congress alone. Congress was therefore appealed to by the agricultural interests for a national law on the subject, and that body responded with a law, which, while it did not go to the length of fixing passenger and freight rates on interstate railroads, was an important step in the national regulation of these great transportation enterprises. This Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 forbade pools and discrimination in rates, and created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five members with power to investigate the books of the railroads and to hold public hearings on rate questions.

THE TARIFF, 1865-1889

The progress of industrialism after 1865, the warfare of capital and labor, the growing strength of the big corporations and the increasing opposition to them, put new vigor into the agitation for the reduction of the tariff. The Civil War had brought a lull in the tariff controversy, creating, as it did, an undeniable need for increased revenue with which to wage the war. In the crisis, low tariff sentiments were suppressed out of patriotism, and after the war, when the rates could be lowered again with safety to the treasury, it was found that the sentiment for free trade had almost disappeared. The Republicans, as the party in power, clung to protection, while the Democrats had wandered so far from their former ideas that a long process of education was necessary to bring them back to their old advocacy of low rates. The convention that nominated Tilden for President in 1876 had declared for "a tariff for revenue only," but the demand attracted little attention in the campaign. In 1877 a free trade club was organized in New York, which started an agita-

History of
the tariff,
1865-1884.

tion that did not die out, though it took several years to gain any considerable momentum for the movement. In the presidential contest of 1880 the subject was still of secondary importance, a "local issue," said General Hancock, whose curt dismissal of the matter probably lost him votes. President Arthur in 1882 surprised the Republican party and the country by urging on Congress a reduction of the tariff, and that body appointed a tariff commission to investigate and report. A slight reduction, the first since the war, was effected by the law of 1883. A second bill in Arthur's administration to make further reductions was defeated in the House of Representatives, where the Democrats were in control, by the defection of forty-one Democrats to the opposition. Definite support of low tariff could not yet be ascribed to the Democratic party, and the inability of the Democrats to come to an agreement on the subject killed reform for a number of years.

In the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884 the Democrats in their platform took a pronounced stand on the subject, though the war of personalities between the two leading candidates temporarily relegated tariff discussion to the background.

The failure of the Democratic party to lower the tariff.

"Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation," said the plank of the Democrats: "We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes." . . . Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the federal government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity." President Cleveland and his Secretary of the Treasury stood loyally by this declaration and forwarded the movement at every opportunity, but the party did not yet present a united front on the issue, for enough Democratic votes were once more cast in the House of Representatives against a proposed reduction of the tariff rates to defeat the measure.

A substantial argument for reduction was the existence of a surplus in the treasury of the United States, just as there had been in Andrew Jackson's time. This did not now indicate that there was no national debt, but merely that the receipts were piling up in the treasury faster than it was feasible to pay off the debt. For the year 1870 there was a surplus of \$102,000,000, for 1880 \$68,000,000, and for 1887 the amount totalled \$103,000,000. The vast debt of the Civil War existed mainly in the form of United States bonds, which were to run for a certain number of years before they matured, that is, before they could be paid off in full. The government

A surplus in the treasury.

might go into the market and itself buy up its own bonds, probably at a premium, and thus bring it about that it would owe the debt to itself. This would furnish a use for the surplus and introduce into circulation among the people the money then tied up in the treasury. It was not certain, however, even if the government should attempt to take this step, that all the holders of the bonds would consent to part with them; nor was it desirable that the government come into possession of its own bonds, for the national banks stood in need of them as a basis for their circulating notes.

Jackson's plan of distributing the surplus among the states did not appeal to Cleveland. In an able message entirely devoted to the tariff, he recommended to Congress that they reduce the amount of money coming into the treasury by lowering the rates of the tariff. The existing tariff rates, according to his views, were a "vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation" and "ought to be at once revised and amended. . . . The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

Cleveland's
tariff reform
message of
1887.

Through the influence of the President the House of Representatives passed a bill providing for a general lowering of the tariff rates; but at the same time the Republican Senate passed a measure of its own, increasing the rates. Since the two Houses failed to come to an agreement, the one result of the situation was to set the tariff before the people as the leading issue for the coming presidential contest. The passage of President Cleveland's measure in the lower House of Congress, where only four Democrats stood out against the change, proved that his endeavor to educate his party to favor tariff reform was making headway. It remained for the people to record their judgment on the matter at the polls.

The dis-
agreement of
the two
Houses of
Congress.

The Republican nomination in 1888 would probably have gone to their defeated candidate of the previous contest, had not that statesman refused the honor; instead, at Blaine's own suggestion, cabled to the convention from Europe, the nomination was given to Benjamin Harrison, United States Senator from Indiana, the grandson of ex-President William Henry Harrison. The Democrats renominated President Cleveland by acclamation. The Prohibitionists again put forward a candidate, while the disturbed industrial classes, who were making a strong show-

The presi-
dential cam-
paign of
1888.

ing in trade unions, again entered national politics in two parties, the Union Labor party and the United Labor party. The Greenback party was dead, and no other party immediately arose to take its place as an advocate of the agrarian interests.

The country was not ready to accept a lowering of the tariff, such as that to which Cleveland had committed the Democratic party, and Harrison was elected by a vote of 233 to 168 in the electoral colleges. Again the Empire State of New York was closely contested. Cleveland's failure to carry his own state, through the loss of a large part of the Democratic vote of New York City, cost him the election. He had offended Tammany Hall by his extreme independence while governor of the state, and the support which they reluctantly gave to him in 1884 they refused to give in 1888.

NON-PARTISAN LAWS CONCERNING MATTERS OF GOVERNMENT

Because the Democrats in Cleveland's administration at no time had complete control of both Houses of Congress, the congressional legislation of the period was essentially non-partisan. Of such nature were the laws in regard to the arbitration of industrial disputes and the regulation of the railroads.

The Presidential Succession Act. Three laws were passed relating to matters of national administration. The Presidential Succession Act provided that in case of the death, removal, or inability to serve of both the President and Vice-President, the presidency should pass to the Secretary of State, and after him to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and to the other members of the cabinet in an order designated by the law. Previously, in the contingency of the death or inability to serve of both the President and Vice-President, the succession was to fall to the President of the Senate and from him to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. This old arrangement was an unwise one, inasmuch as on some occasions there was neither a President of the Senate nor a Speaker of the House of Representatives. If on such an occasion there had occurred a vacancy in both the presidency and the vice-presidency, succession to the presidency would have been unprovided for and the wheels of government would have been temporarily stopped. In 1885, when Vice President Hendricks died, there was no Speaker of the House of Representatives as the House was not yet organized, so that the life of President Cleveland alone stood between organized government and a cessation of government. This situation called attention to the necessity of change. Under the old system, too, since it was possible for both the President of the Senate

and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to belong to another party than that of the President, the death of both the President and the Vice-President might entail an overturn of politics in the administrative control of the government, which would be unfair after the people's will had been expressed in a presidential election.

An Electoral Law was passed rendering impossible such disputes over the counting of the electoral votes as had occurred in 1876. It provided that each state should settle any dispute arising between rival electoral colleges in that state, and that if such a dispute should not be settled by the state, the joint session of Congress should proceed to decide it under definite regulations indicated by the law. Finally the Tenure of Office Act, which had been passed by Congress in the course of its quarrel with President Johnson, was repealed.

The new Electoral Law, and the repeal of the Tenure of Office Act.

In 1888 the states began to adopt a new form of ballot known as the secret or Australian ballot, in order to lessen the evils of bribery, intimidation, ballot-box stuffing, and other election abuses which, it was claimed, were especially rife in the presidential contest of 1884. So rapidly did the reform spread that by 1896, eight years after the first state, Kentucky, took the step, only three states had failed to adopt the method to some extent. Under the new system, the state itself assumed the expense of furnishing ballots of uniform size and color, containing the names of candidates of all parties; the voter was not allowed, as formerly, to bring to the polls a ballot which he had previously prepared, but must use only the ballot given him by the election officials and must mark it secretly in a booth by himself. In arranging the names on the ballot various plans have been followed. On the so-called "Massachusetts ballot" the names of the candidates are arranged alphabetically under the title of each office; there is no party emblem, such as a flag or an eagle, to guide the ignorant voter, but after each candidate's name there is usually printed the name of his party. To vote such a ballot a cross must be placed opposite the name of each candidate voted for. This method is supposed to encourage independent voting. On the "Indiana" or party column ballot, which is the one most extensively used, the names of all candidates of a single party are placed in a separate column with the party emblem at the top, and a circle within which the voter may place a cross to vote a "straight ticket" if he so desires, with the opportunity to place crosses after individual names if he wishes to "split" his ticket.

The Australian ballot.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

In what respects was Hayes a strong President? Would his renomination by the Republicans in 1880 have been politically wise? Was the United States justified in excluding Chinese immigrants? Why was President Cleveland unpopular with the old Union soldiers? Compare the industrial unrest of Jackson's time, of the days of the Civil War, of 1877, and of 1886. What in general was the development of capital and labor during the period? Why were the Democrats said to "need education on the tariff" after 1865? Compare Cleveland's solution of the surplus in the United States treasury with that of Jackson. Why were there so many non-partisan laws passed in Cleveland's time, 1885-1889? What were the leading current issues before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1880, 1884, and 1888?

CHAPTER XXVII

PROSPERITY, PANIC, AND SLOW RECOVERY

THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF THE REPUBLICANS, 1889-1891

By their victory in 1888 the Republicans won not only the presidency but both houses of Congress. Before passing any laws, they undertook to improve the rules of procedure in the House of Representatives. For some years the minority in that body, sometimes Democratic and sometimes Republican, had been in the habit of blocking legislation by means of dilatory motions, that is, motions to consume time, such as motions to adjourn. The custom had grown rapidly in the eighties. Speaker Thomas B. Reed of Maine, placed in the Speaker's chair by the Republicans in 1889, broke up the practice by arbitrarily refusing to put a dilatory motion to the House. Another device of the minority to block legislation had been for the members, though present, to refuse to vote. As it was the parliamentary custom to consider a member absent who did not vote, the minority party was often able in this way to prevent a quorum to do business. Speaker Reed put an end to the practice by counting all silent members as present and thus securing a quorum. When one member denied the Speaker's right to count him as present and desired to "read from parliamentary law on the subject," Reed coolly replied, "The chair is making a statement of fact that the gentleman is present. Does he deny it?" The Speaker was denounced as "tyrant" and "Czar," but lived to see his new rules sustained by the Supreme Court and accepted even by the Democrats as the permanent rules of the House.

Reforms in
the rules of
the House of
Representatives.

With their house in order, the Republicans proceeded to constructive legislation. The first measure passed was a concession to the growing sentiment against large business corporations or trusts. An Anti-Trust Act, proposed by John Sherman, United States Senator from Ohio, followed up the Interstate Commerce Commission Act passed in the previous administration. This Sherman Act was entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," and provided, first, that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or other-

The Sherman
Anti-Trust
Law.

wise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal," and second, that "to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several states" was likewise illegal. The act did not forbid every corporation or trust as such, but only those engaged "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states"; and it did not define what were restraints of trade, and what were monopolies, but left the definition of these terms to the courts.

Strange as it may seem, this law was allowed to lie dormant on the statute books for fourteen years, while giant monopolies rapidly developed. Since 1904 it has been enforced with increasing vigor each year, and at the present day, with certain amendments, it is the government's chief weapon against monopolies.

At about the same time Congress passed another important act of legislation in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which went farther in the direction of free coinage of silver than had the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. The Bland-Allison Act, it will be recalled, had directed the United States to purchase for coinage into silver dollars not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver every month. Under its working, during the troubled decade of the eighties, the demand in the West for the free coinage of silver, which it had been the object of the act to satisfy, continued to increase, while the price of silver continued to decline. This demand the Republicans in 1890 deemed it wise to recognize. The Senate, with recently admitted members from several new Western States, was ready to accede to the extreme demand for free silver, but the House of Representatives stood opposed, and the compromise Sherman Silver Purchase Act was the result. This law no longer allowed discretion in the amount of silver to be purchased, but directed the purchase by the government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month, an annual amount equivalent to the total silver production of the country in 1890. In payment for this silver the government was to issue treasury notes which were to circulate as money. Still the price of silver continued to decline.

That the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, by a party popularly supposed to be friendly to conservative interests, was not without a purpose, was revealed a few months later when the McKinley Tariff Law of 1890 was passed. It was in return for the enactment of the two laws for the benefit of the radicals that the conservative Republicans claimed and secured the support of a sufficient number of radicals to write into the statute books this highest tariff law in the

**The Sherman
Silver
Purchase
Act.**

**The McKin-
ley Tariff
Law.**

history of the country to that time. The law received its name from William McKinley of Ohio, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, which framed the bill. Aside from the higher rates imposed, the new act possessed two unique features. First, it placed raw sugar on the free list and offered a bounty of two cents a pound for the production of domestic sugar, while to protect the domestic refineries a duty was placed on refined sugar. Second, through the efforts of James G. Blaine, whom President Harrison had made Secretary of State, the principle of reciprocity, or reciprocal free trade, was embodied in the act. By this plan, certain products, chiefly from the West Indies and Central and South America, such as hides, molasses, tea, and coffee, were put on a provisional free list, the President to have the power of restoring the duty at specified rates for any country if he decided that that country was imposing unfair rates on articles imported from the United States. More than a dozen nations secured the proffered concessions. Others with whom the President could not come to agreement were forced to pay the higher rates in the United States. The Republicans had answered Cleveland's challenge to lower the tariff and bring less revenue into the national treasury by boldly enacting a law to raise the rates and bring in more revenue.

A programme of heavy national expenditures was the Republican solution of the surplus. The Dependent Pension Law, similar to a bill vetoed by Cleveland, was passed, under which the annual outlay of \$88,000,000 for pensions in 1889, rose to \$159,000,000 in 1893. From 1889 to 1893 the annual expenditures for the navy rose from \$21,000,000 to \$30,000,000. So heavy did the expenditures of the central government become that the Democrats in derision, and to sound a note of alarm, styled this Congress of 1889-1891 "a billion-dollar Congress." The charge was true that the appropriations of this Congress reached one billion dollars, but Speaker Reed retorted for the Republicans that the United States was "a billion-dollar country." As a result of high protection, heavy national expenditures on pensions, the navy, public buildings, rivers and harbors, and other improvements, have remained the Republican policy.

Heavy national expenditures.

Few Congresses in time of peace have passed such an array of important laws as were passed by this first Congress of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. These, as we have seen, embraced laws on the trusts, silver, the tariff, pensions, and the navy. In addition an Anti-Lottery Law excluded lottery tickets from the mails, another law compelled the land-grant

Other Republican measures.

railroads, which had not made use of their lands, to restore these to the government, and another made minor changes in the regulation of immigration.

The same Congress (1889-1891) admitted into the Union six new states, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, and Wyoming and Idaho in 1890. No other twelve months in the history of the country have witnessed the creation of so many new states. At the close of the War of 1812, when the frontier lay in the basin of the Mississippi in the interior of the continent, it was considered rapid progress when five states were admitted in as many years, but during this industrial era at the end of the century the West was enjoying an unprecedented growth. The admission of Utah followed in 1896.

A second Pacific Railroad aided the Union Pacific in moving the human tide to the new communities. This new road was the Northern Pacific, completed in 1883 after more than ten years' work, from Duluth on Lake Superior to Helena, Montana, and in 1893 to Tacoma on Puget Sound. Within the decade of the eighties at least 800,000 took up their residence along its route. It was like the movements of population that had followed the completion of the Erie Canal and the Union Pacific Railroad. The progress of the West is represented graphically by the following table:

	Made a State	Population						
		1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
South Dakota	1889	.....	4,000	14,000	135,000	348,000	401,000	583,000
North Dakota	1889	.....	.....	.....	.....	190,000	319,000	577,000
Montana	1889	.....	.....	20,000	39,000	142,000	243,000	376,000
Washington	1889	.....	11,000	23,000	75,000	357,000	518,000	1,141,000
Wyoming	1890	.....	.....	9,000	20,000	62,000	92,000	145,000
Idaho	1890	.....	.....	14,000	32,000	88,000	161,000	325,000
Utah	1896	11,000	40,000	86,000	143,000	210,000	276,000	373,000
Oklahoma	1907	.....	.....	.....	.....	258,000	700,000	1,057,000
New Mexico	1912	61,000	93,000	91,000	119,000	160,000	195,000	327,000
Arizona	1912	.....	.....	9,000	40,000	88,000	122,000	204,000

A writer of the time declared concerning the rapid changes: "Living men, not very old yet, have seen the Indians on the war-path, the buffaloes stopping the trains, the cowboy driving his cattle, the herder watching his sheep, the government irrigation dam, and the automobile — have seen every one of these slides which progress puts for a moment into its magic lantern and removes to replace with a new one." Says another writer,

Rapid
changes in
the West.

More new
states in the
West.

The North
ern Pacific
Railroad.

who compares the peopling of the United States with the expansion of Russia over Siberia, "The development of the original thirteen states into the present Union, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Mexico to Canada, remains one of the most marvelous achievements of human history."

Farther south, a part of Indian Territory under the name of Oklahoma, "the beautiful land," was thrown open to white settlement by a proclamation of the President, April 22, 1889. For many years the whites had coveted the rich lands of this reservation, but had been warded off by the government till it could acquire for them a legal title to the lands. The opening was picturesque. Fifty thousand people were waiting for the signal to advance over the boundary line and make their choice of the rich lands. Many were successful and many failed. "Whole outfits for towns, including portable houses, were shipped by rail, and individual families, in picturesque, primitive, white-covered wagons journeyed forward, stretching out for miles in an unbroken line. . . . The blast of a bugle at noon on a beautiful spring day was a signal for the wild rush across the borders. Men on horseback and on foot, in every conceivable vehicle, sought homes with the utmost speed, and before nightfall town sites were laid out for several thousand inhabitants each." By three o'clock in the afternoon of the opening day the town of Guthrie was already laid out, with four business streets lined with shops and offices installed in tents. There was even a bank with a capital of \$50,000 and a daily paper. By four o'clock a city council had been elected. A census at the end of the year revealed the presence of 60,000 people in the territory.

The settle-
ment of
Oklahoma.

In 1891 there was another rush into a second part of the forming state, and again into a third part in 1893. The population of Oklahoma in 1900 was 790,000, in 1907, when it was admitted into the Union as the forty-sixth state, 1,114,000, and in 1910, 1,650,000. The population of Oklahoma City rose from 4000 in 1890 to 10,000 in 1900 and to 64,000 in 1910, a gain of five hundred and thirty-nine per cent in a single decade and the most rapid gain of any city in the nation during that period.

Rapid
growth of
the territory.

With the rapid filling of the western lands there came a revolutionary change in the government's method of dealing with its Indian charges. Reservations for them had first been set aside in the early part of the nineteenth century, under a loose construction of that clause of the Constitution which gives Congress the power "to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes." Indian Territory had been assigned to them when Georgia was ridding itself

The Indian
reservations.

of the Creeks and Cherokees; and from time to time scores of smaller Indian reservations had been made on the public domain. The Indians on the reservations were allowed to retain their tribal government and laws; it was not necessary for them to work for their own support; supplies were distributed to them by the government through a resident superintendent or agent; schools were maintained for their welfare; liquor and firearms were forbidden to them; and white traders were excluded from their midst. In the judgment of the Supreme Court the Indians could not be regarded as citizens of an Indian nation, since under the Constitution of the United States there could be no such thing as a state within a state, nor yet were they citizens of the United States. Rather they were wards, cared for by the United States as by a protector. In their anomalous position the Indians had no civilized law, for they were not yet sufficiently advanced to make laws of their own according to the standards of civilization, while the laws of the United States applied to the Indians only by rare special enactment.

Such a system tended to pauperize the Indians and to deprive them of all incentive to individual effort. Two classes urged a change.

**Opposition
to the
reservation
system.**

First, there were those who confessed the failure of the reservation principle and wished it discarded for one which would throw the Indians on their own resources and develop their initiative and self-reliance. Second, there was the large army of restless whites, looking for more lands and each year finding the search more difficult, who coveted the Indian lands for themselves. White settlement was retarded by the existence of the reservations, and the building of railroads and other improvements was frequently blocked.

The first sign of change came while Grant was President, when Congress discarded its customary habit of dealing with the Indians by the method of a treaty. There always lurked in such procedure the implication that the Indians were a nation to be dealt with like other nations. In 1886 the Supreme

**A new
Indian
policy.**

Court reversed its former view of the Indian status and decided that the Indians were no longer wards without law, but that the benefits and the obligations of the law of the United States applied to them as well as to whites. In the next year Congress passed the Dawes Act, under which, with later amendments, if the President deems that a reservation should be divided up for farming purposes, he may cause it be surveyed and allotted to the heads of the Indian families of the reservation, while he himself holds their land in trust for them for twenty-five years. At the end of this period the Indians are to

receive the deed to their lands, with the full rights of United States citizenship, the privilege of selling the lands, and of deporting themselves in general like ordinary citizens of the republic. The right to obtain liquor is denied till full citizenship is acquired at the end of the twenty-five years, and the benevolent educational institutions of the government, administered impartially both for Indian citizens and for Indian wards, are still maintained at a cost to the United States of over \$6,000,000 a year. By way of exception, the President may award the lands to capable individual Indians without waiting for the period of twenty-five years to elapse. In 1914 the entire Cherokee tribe became United States citizens, and the tribal organization was formally dissolved.

In 1910 there were in the United States 265,000 Indians and in Alaska 25,000, slightly more in each case than in 1900. Scattered over the Union in the various states are two hundred and eighty tribes, ten represented by only one member each. Indian statistics. The largest tribe was the Cherokee before its dissolution in 1914, with 31,000 members; others are the Navajos with 22,000, the Chippewas with 20,000, the Choctaws with 15,000, and the Sioux with 14,000. One-fourth of all the Indians are centered in Oklahoma.

With the rapid settlement of Oklahoma and of the six Northwestern States admitted in 1889-1890, the unsettled lands of the United States practically disappeared, and the western frontier, as a feature of American life, passed away. Of the many millions of acres once in the hands of the government The disappearance of the frontier. only a few small Indian reservations remained unoccupied by whites. The dissatisfied classes of the settled portions of the country could no longer "go West" to cheap lands in their time of trouble to mend their fortunes in the new country, for the cheap lands were all but impossible to secure. For almost three centuries, from the time of the first English settlement in 1607, civilization had been bordered by wilderness, and in all that long period, as population increased, the vaguely located border between civilization and wilderness had been constantly pushed westward. The frontier bred freedom, equality, disregard of conventions, and the spirit of progress, and had contributed these qualities to the national life. The West in general stood for radicalism, the East for conservatism, and the history of the country had been largely the resultant of the interaction of these two forces. The disappearance of the frontier and the growing clashes of capital and labor were more than a coincidence. As the restless were no longer drawn off to the frontier lands and the East and the West tended to become more and more like one another, the

turbulence of the radical element found vent in class rather than in section, and the fermentation of the labor world was a result. *www*

After the demise of the Greenback party following the presidential contest of 1884, the agrarian element, as such, had kept out of politics.

www
The rise of
the Populist
party.

The two societies, the Patrons of Husbandry and the Farmers' Alliance, the latter of which claimed 3,000,000 members in 1890, were still non-political. In 1890, however, the Alliance placed congressional and state candidates in the field and forced the country into a recognition of their strength by electing nine members of the national House of Representatives and two members of the national Senate.

As the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic during the last two years of Harrison's presidency, the

The presi-
dential elec-
tion of 1892.
The
Populists.

hands of the Republican administration were tied, and to its end in 1893 few more laws of importance were passed. In 1891, in preparation for the presidential contest of the next year, the Farmers' Alliance and their sympathizers formally organized themselves into a national party under the name of the People's or Populist party. Their platform, adopted in 1892, was a radical declaration. "The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind," ran the document, "and the possessors of these in turn despise the republic and endanger liberty." Governmental injustice bred the "two classes, tramps and millionaires." Free coinage of silver was demanded, an income tax, postal savings banks, governmental ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones, and direct election of United States Senators by the people; the initiative and the referendum were also indorsed. General Weaver, who had been the Greenback candidate in 1880, was the nominee of the new party.

The Republicans had made a conscious attempt to check this wave of discontent, which had been rising for a number of years, by enacting the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and by creating the six new western states. At the same time they were depending on the McKinley Tariff Law to prove a tower of strength for them in the conservative East. They renominated President Harrison.

The struggle for the Democratic nomination was a contest between ex-President Cleveland and his opponents, with the Tammany Hall

The
Democrats.

Democrats of New York City still arrayed against him. In 1891, when his party, in an effort to capture the farmers' vote in the West, was showing decided leanings toward the

extreme doctrine of free silver, Cleveland boldly came out against the doctrine, and his nomination on the first ballot by the convention of 1892 removed free silver from a prominent place as a campaign issue. Like that of 1888, the campaign was fought on the tariff question alone.

In the height of the campaign a great strike occurred at the Carnegie Steel works at Homestead, near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which worked against the interests of the Republicans and put them on the defensive, inasmuch as their high tariff stand had won for them the reputation of being the champions of the rich protected interests. When the company announced that it was necessary to reduce wages, the workers refused to acquiesce and took possession of the works. Armed detectives were hired by the company, and in the ensuing encounters a number were killed and wounded on both sides. The governor of the state was obliged to call out the militia to restore order.

The
Homestead
strike.

Cleveland received 277 electoral votes and the election. His popular vote was 5,556,000 against 5,175,000 for Harrison, 1,040,000 for Weaver, 255,000 for the Prohibition candidate, and 21,000 for the candidate of the Socialist Labor party, which now waged its first campaign. The large vote of the Populists indicated again the extent of the agrarian unrest. Besides increasing their number in the United States Senate to three and in the House of Representatives to ten, the Populists, in fusion with the Democrats, succeeded in electing governors in four Western States and in securing twenty-two electoral votes.

Cleveland's
second
election.

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1877-1893

In the administrations of Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison, the nation's foreign policy was concerned largely with its southern neighbors. In the eighties the French embarked on an attempt to construct a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific at Panama. The first plan formulated by the United States for such a canal was that embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, which contemplated a neutral canal under the joint control of the United States and Great Britain. The United States repented of this agreement almost as soon as it was made, and the experience of the French occupation of Mexico in Civil War days strengthened the growing conviction that it was incompatible with the interests of the United States to endure a strong European nation as a near neighbor on the south. When, in 1880, the Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had constructed the Suez Canal, appeared in New York and Washington in the interests of a French Panama

The French
canal at
Panama.

Canal, President Hayes and his Secretary of State, William M. Evarts of New York, opposed him. The President declared in a message to Congress: "The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European power or to any combination of European powers."

Congress, however, took no steps to thwart the French undertaking. Secretary Blaine, under President Garfield, took the same position as Secretary Evarts before him, but he failed in his efforts to induce Great Britain to give up the Clayton-Bulwer treaty under which the United States was bound to take in that country as a partner in the construction of any canal between the two oceans. President Cleveland rejected Hayes's idea of a strictly American canal under the control of the United States, and clung to the old Clayton-Bulwer idea of a neutral canal; he even withdrew a treaty with Nicaragua, sent by President Arthur to the Senate, which would have given to the United States the right to build a canal across that country.

After several years of effort the French enterprise at Panama ended in failure, with their canal only two-fifths completed and over \$300,000,-
 000 expended. One hundred French Senators, Deputies,
 Ministers, and ex-Ministers were accused of bribery in
 connection with the enterprise, and De Lesseps himself
 was sentenced to imprisonment for five years, though he died before
 beginning the sentence. The reasons for the failure were various,
 among them being the exorbitant prices extorted by the Colombians
 for their land, improper sanitation, poor hospitals, extravagance in
 purchase of supplies, and a short-sighted plan of disposing of the
 excavated earth on the banks of the canal itself, whence it fell back
 again into the excavation. As an instance of the fraudulent methods
 of the directors of the French company may be cited an item, in their
 list of purchases, of thousands of snow-shovels for use in Panama. In
 the United States, zest was added by the French undertaking to the
 nation's attempt to improve transportation facilities between the
 Atlantic and Pacific oceans; and work on the transcontinental rail-
 roads was pushed with vigor.

The international complications which the existence of a French
 Canal at Panama might have created not only for the United States
 but for the South American states, were averted, but the
 United States was warned by the episode that European
 nations would cultivate closer relations with the states
 south of her if she herself did not.

In November, 1881, James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State, in the

**The failure
of the
French.**

**Warning to
the United
States.**

name of the President of the United States extended "to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general Congress to be held in the city of Washington, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Chile and Peru had been at war with one another for several years, and it was hoped that these two nations might be brought together and a plan agreed upon for preserving peace among all American nations. The war, however, did not cease, and the invitation was withdrawn. The Congress of the United States continued to discuss the plan of a Pan-American conference, and in 1888, after the warring nations of South America had made peace with one another, it authorized the President to call another Congress of the eighteen American republics and the empire of Brazil to meet in Washington in 1889. Before settling down to their deliberations, the delegates, as guests of the nation, visited leading manufacturing and commercial cities in various sections of the Union, and then assembled at the national capital to consider questions of mutual interest. Recommendations were voted concerning matters of commerce and international law, and arbitration was indorsed as a means of settling international disputes between American states. It was under the influence of this congress that Secretary Blaine made the recommendations which the Senate and the House of Representatives enacted into law as the reciprocity provisions of the McKinley Tariff Law. A second Pan-American Congress was held in Mexico in 1901-1902, a third in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1906, and a fourth in Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic, in 1910. The fifth would have been convened in 1915, but for the general interruption of affairs occasioned by the breaking out of war in Europe. The idea of common action by the republics of America, which had taken root in 1826 during the administration of John Quincy Adams and had passed through various vicissitudes of fortune, had at last become a permanent working force.

The Pan-American Congress of 1889-1890.

A definite achievement of the Pan-American Congress of 1889-1890 was the creation of the Pan-American Union, which has since been maintained in Washington by the American republics, increased in number to twenty-one by the addition of Cuba, Panama, and the new republic of Brazil. The object of the unique international organization is the furtherance of commerce, friendly intercourse, and a mutual understanding. It is controlled by a governing board, composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the diplomatic representatives in Washington

The Pan-American Union. *all*

of the other American republics, and does a work of far-reaching importance, carrying on an extensive correspondence and sending forth numerous pamphlets, reports, and bulletins, in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, on matters of common interest.



PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hardly had the Pan-American Congress of 1889-1890 adjourned when trouble arose with Chile, which embittered the relations of the United States with that country to the end of the Harrison administration. President Harrison was slow in recognizing the belligerency of a revolting faction in Chile, and finally caused the indictment of an agent of the insurgents who had bought arms in this country and sent them back to Chile. Excitement was intense, but the courts decided that it had not been a violation of the neutrality laws to procure the arms here and that the vessel, the *Itata*, carrying them had not been fitted out as a vessel of war in our ports, but was a mere transport engaged in a lawful mission. After the insurgents had conquered and were installed in power as the national government of Chile, more bad feeling against the North Americans was aroused, when the United States minister accorded temporary asylum in his legation building at Santiago to the leaders of the defeated party and allowed them to make their escape. Unwisely, in October, 1891, the cap-

**Trouble
with Chile.**

tain of the United States warship, *Baltimore*, gave shore leave at Valparaiso to over one hundred of his men. In the street fighting with the citizens which almost instantly broke out, two Americans were killed and nineteen wounded. Chile paid \$75,000 as indemnity for the outrage, but only time could assuage the bitterness of feeling which temporarily marred the mutual good-fellowship between two American republics, which it had been one of the objects of the Pan-American Congress to foster.

Trouble with Italy came in 1891 over mob violence inflicted by citizens of the United States upon subjects of the King of Italy. A series of outrageous crimes in New Orleans was popularly attributed to an Italian Black-Hand society, known as the Mafia; the chief of police was himself shot down. Orderly trial was given to the accused, but no one was convicted; and an infuriated mob forced an entrance into the jail and slew several suspected Italians without mercy. Three of these victims were subjects of the King of Italy, who promptly demanded of the government of the United States the punishment of the murderers and indemnity for the families of his murdered subjects. This the United States could not grant, since no crime had been committed against United States law and the matter was within the jurisdiction of the State of Louisiana. Secretary Blaine pointed out to Italy that the United States was a federal government in form, and that the culprits were answerable to the State of Louisiana. That state had no laws for awarding damages for loss of life at the hands of a mob, and therefore did nothing. The explanation was not acceptable to the Italian government, which recalled its minister from Washington, while the United States minister left Rome. Congress found a way out of the difficulty by voting \$25,000 to the families of the victims, not as a recognition of damage claims but as an expression of regret, and the matter was settled.

Again, as in the *Caroline* affair which arose out of the rebellion in Canada in 1837, the weakness of the federal form of government in foreign affairs was demonstrated. The central government stands helpless before the power of the citizens of a state or of the state itself to do mischief in foreign relations and even to embroil the nation in war.

A weakness
of the Fed-
eral form of
government.

In 1878-1879 the King of the Samoan Islands concluded treaties with the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, by which these three powers recognized the independence of the islands. Within five years a native insurrection broke out. The situation was precarious, for in Samoa the Germans were without reason assuming that they

B. were in control. After some hesitation Germany declared war on the native government, dethroned and deported King Malietoa, and installed another in his place, with a German as adviser. Indignation was widespread in the United States over these acts, Congress made a large appropriation to safeguard American interests, and President Cleveland sent a small squadron to Samoa. The danger of war was averted by a great storm at sea, which destroyed all but one of the war vessels of the various nations in Samoan waters. A conference of the three powers was thereupon held in Berlin, and their joint protectorate over the island continued. In 1899, by a new agreement, Great Britain withdrew entirely from the islands, Germany received Upola and other small islands of the Samoan group, and the United States Tutuila and a few other small islands, valuable chiefly as coaling stations for the navy.

Affairs in the Pacific.

1. The Samoan Islands.

2. The seal fisheries in the Bering Sea.

A long-standing dispute with Great Britain over the control of the Bering Sea and its seal fisheries came to a head during Harrison's administration. Inasmuch as Russia before 1867 claimed exclusive rights in this sea between Siberia and Alaska, the United States upon acquiring Alaska claimed the same rights. She was the more insistent upon exercising this control because of the danger that the seals would soon be exterminated under unrestricted fishing. Her own seal fishermen were limited to a certain number of seals, while the fishermen of other nations were slaying without hindrance. Perceiving that this claim of the United States, if allowed, would shut out her vessels from the seal fisheries in the Alaskan waters, Great Britain took the ground that the United States could exercise jurisdiction only for three miles from the shore, the accepted limit of national boundaries upon the sea. The Secretary of State pushed the claims of his country in somewhat dictatorial fashion and procured the arrest of several encroaching British vessels. By the award of arbitration which happily settled the matter in 1893, the United States was compelled to pay damages to Great Britain. The Bering Sea, beyond the three-mile limit, was declared to be not *mare clausum*, closed sea, but open sea, where the ships of all nations might hunt the seals with equal right. After the award in the matter of the Alabama claims, this was the next great victory for arbitration in the history of the country, a signal demonstration of the devotion of the United States to the principle of pacific settlement of international disputes. In 1911 the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia bound themselves by a treaty to work in harmony for the protection of the fur-seal herds of the entire North Pacific.

There had been a handful of American inhabitants in the Hawaiian

Islands in the Pacific for over fifty years, when in 1893, much after the fashion of the Americans in Texas in the thirties, these settlers rose up against the native monarchy, deposed Queen Liliuokalani, set up a provisional government of their own, and with the approval of the resident United States minister declared themselves a protectorate of the United States. President Harrison, at the very end of whose administration these events took place, proved friendly to the new government and sent a treaty to the United States Senate, providing for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. The treaty was still pending in the Senate when President Harrison gave place to his successor, Grover Cleveland, who assumed the reins of government a second time. Perceiving that the nation was on the point of embarking upon the untried experiment of territorial expansion into new lands beyond the continental limits of America, the new President boldly withdrew the unratified treaty from the Senate and successfully put a stop to the movement for the time being.

3. Revolution in the Hawaiian Islands.

CLEVELAND'S STORMY SECOND ADMINISTRATION

The second administration of Grover Cleveland, like his first one, was a time of storm and stress, but from an entirely different set of causes. In his first administration the disturbing element had been the revolt of the farming and industrial classes against the tyranny of capital; now it was the distress of capital and labor alike in a time of adversity. A few weeks after the inauguration of President Cleveland prosperity gave way to the most serious financial panic since that of 1837. The first signal of distress came early in 1893 before Cleveland was sworn into office, when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, with a capital of \$40,000,000 and a debt of \$125,000,000, went into bankruptcy. On May 5 the National Cordage Company, with a capital of \$20,000,000 and liabilities of \$10,000,000, the stock of which had been selling on the New York market at 147, went to the wall. Cordage stock fell to 10, and with it the whole stock market collapsed. In the course of the year 158 national banks, situated generally in the South and West, failed, 172 state banks went down, 177 private banks, 47 savings banks, 13 loan and trust companies, and 6 mortgage companies. A billion dollars' worth of railroad property fell into the hands of receivers, thousands of factories were shut down and many worked on part time only. There were three times as many commercial failures as in 1873. While the blow was especially heavy in the West and South, the results were serious in the whole country, and furnished a background

The financial panic of 1893.

of economic distress and hard times for the events of Grover Cleveland's second administration.

One of the causes of the panic was the excessive speculation that is wont to accompany prosperity and had figured as a factor in preceding panics. In addition, the uncertainty of business men as to what the Democrats would do with the tariff led to unsettled conditions. Another disturbing cause, in the view of President Cleveland and many others, was the decrease in the gold reserve in the treasury at Washington. This fund, always above \$100,000,000, and in 1891 amounting to \$300,000,000, was intended to inspire confidence among the people in the \$346,000,000 worth of greenbacks in circulation. At first the credit of the government was good in the crisis, while that of hundreds of private business institutions was shattered or at least suspected; but in the prevailing lack of business confidence induced by the panic, men began to prefer gold to the government's paper promises to pay, and were taking the greenbacks to the treasury for redemption in greater amounts than usual. This privilege of exchanging the greenbacks for gold at any time was a wise one, in that it secured the circulation of these notes as money without fluctuation of value, but it was a practice that proved exceedingly inconvenient to the government when exercised by the people too extensively at one time. When the reserve began to fall below the \$100,000,000 mark in 1893, apprehension was expressed for the government's credit, and when the falling reserve reached \$95,000,000, fears were widespread that the greenbacks would soon begin to depreciate, as in the days of the Civil War when there was no reserve at all. Plainly the danger point was reached, for if the reserve should go much lower the credit of the government would certainly become impaired, and such a result would plunge the business world into deeper despair.

President Cleveland reached the conclusion that partial relief from the decline in the gold reserve would be secured if Congress should repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which would put a stop to the issue of any more treasury notes. Congress was called in special session in the midst of the panic, and after a battle of two months, was forced by the President to follow his recommendations and stop the purchase of silver. The anger of the friends of silver both within and without the Populist party, for whom the law was passed in the first place, knew no bounds.

While the panic was at its height and while the President and Congress were wrangling over the Silver Purchase Act, the people turned aside from financial troubles to celebrate the four hundredth anni-

versary of the discovery of America in a great world's fair in Chicago, for which preparations had been in progress for four years. Since the buildings were not ready in 1892, the fair was postponed till the next year, when it was opened on the first of May in the presence of President Cleveland, the Duke of Veragua, who was a lineal descendant of Columbus, and an enormous concourse of people. Stretched along the lake front in imposing array were beautiful buildings for the display of the products of agriculture, art, commerce, manufacturing, transportation, and every other branch of human activity. The various states of the Union, as well as the United States and many foreign governments, erected separate buildings. On one day, called Chicago Day, 716,000 people paid their way into the grounds. In spite of the disturbed conditions of the times, the number of visitors from May to October reached 27,500,000.

The world's
fair at
Chicago.

At the next regular session of Congress, beginning in December, 1893, the Democrats proceeded to revise the tariff according to the President's well-known ideas of what a just tariff should be. The Democrats entertained great hopes for lower tariff rates, inasmuch as they were in control of both houses of Congress and of the presidency for the first time since the Civil War; but the Senate, though Democratic, proved to have in it protectionist Democrats. Some of the President's friends, foreseeing the stormy times ahead, had counseled him at the very outset of his administration to deal first with the tariff, which was a subject on which his party could best unite, and then to take up later the financial situation on which the party was sure to split into factions. Cleveland rejected the advice and suffered for his decision.

The tariff.

The tariff bill of the Democrats was introduced in the House of Representatives by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, William L. Wilson of West Virginia. It provided for free trade in certain articles, such as sugar, iron ore, wool, lumber, and coal, and for lowered rates on many other articles. After passing the House of Representatives the bill went to the Senate, where it was so loaded down with amendments that the original bill could scarcely be recognized. During the discussion that followed, the President wrote a letter to Chairman Wilson in which he stigmatized the bill, as amended in the Senate, as a record of "party perfidy and dishonor," and allowed the letter to be read before the House of Representatives. The House, however, in spite of the President's disapproval, meekly surrendered to the Senate and accepted the changes. Of the important raw materials only wool was left on the free list. The President by not returning the bill to Congress within

The Wilson
Tariff Act.

ten days allowed it to become a law, although he showed his contempt for it by not affixing to it his official signature.

A concession to the radicals of all sections was the clause in the new law laying a tax of two per cent on incomes exceeding \$4000.

The income tax. In view of the fact that the demand of the radicals was for a tax on all incomes, graduated according to their size, the concession was not a great one, for only a small proportion of the entire population enjoyed an income of \$4000 or more.

After a winter of suffering in 1893-1894, when the evil of unemployment was probably more widespread than ever before, groups of the unemployed roving over the country collected themselves together in the "Army of the Commonweal of Christ," and under the leadership of the fanatical "General" Coxey, set out in the spring to march to Washington to lay their demands before Congress. Their panacea for the ills of the country was an immediate issue by the government of \$500,000,000 in greenbacks. Hundreds started on the crusade in eastern Ohio and hundreds more joined it on its way, but before the goal was reached desertions set in and only three hundred arrived at the Capitol in Washington, where their leaders were arrested by the Capitol police for "walking on the grass." Thoughtful people, however, saw not merely the absurdity of the movement but the symptoms of popular distress back of it.

The familiar strike again appeared, and again Chicago was the scene of a deplorable struggle. The Pullman Palace Car Company, in the suburban town of Pullman, dismissed some of its men in the spring of 1894 on account of lack of work and lowered the wages of others, whereupon the entire four thousand employees went out on a strike, and in sympathy the 150,000 members of the American Railway Union refused to handle a single Pullman car. Practically every railroad entering Chicago came to a standstill. Riots, destruction of property, and obstruction of the United States mails followed, till United States troops were called out to protect the mails. The strikers lost. By his act of sending the troops of the regular army to the scene to protect the mails against the strikers, the President called forth the indignation of the friends of labor; but in such a crisis, when law and order were at stake, Cleveland, like President Hayes in the similar crisis of 1877, was not a man to be moved by popular clamor.

In addition to the use of the troops of the United States to put down the strike, labor found another grievance in the management of the situation by the Federal authorities. The United States district court of Illinois issued a so-called "blanket injunction," commanding

the members of the American Railway Union and "all other persons" to desist from obstructing the mails. The order was issued in accordance with an old custom of the courts. The strikers were not informed beforehand that the judge had been applied to, their side of the case was not presented to him in any way, no witnesses were examined, and there was no jury. All this appeared arbitrary in the extreme, and incensed labor cried out as one man against the court in denunciation of its unfair and un-American methods. Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the Railway Union, who was arrested for disobedience to the injunction, was sentenced to serve six months in jail; and in May of the next year, 1895, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the justice of the sentence.

**Injunctions
against the
strikers.**

Inasmuch as only one week before its decision in the Debs case, the Supreme Court had declared the income tax feature of the Wilson tariff law unconstitutional, the distressed agricultural and industrial classes felt that this highest tribunal of the land was indeed arrayed in defense of the rich against the poor; and just such a storm of criticism was directed against the court as it encountered in the time of Chief Justice Taney after the announcement of the Dred Scott Decision.

**Popular
clamor
against the
Supreme
Court.**

Meanwhile, in spite of the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Law, the problem of the falling gold reserve in the treasury was more pressing than ever. When the \$70,000,000 mark was reached in January, 1894, the administration sold \$50,000,000 worth of gold bonds and put the gold received into the treasury, in the desperate hope of restoring the reserve. To secure the gold necessary to buy the bonds many drew it out of the treasury by presenting more greenbacks there for redemption, so that by an endless chain \$24,000,000 was transferred from the treasury to the subscribers of the bonds and by them back into the treasury. In November of 1894, when the reserve was down to \$52,000,000, another issue of \$50,000,000 gold bonds was made; but in January, 1895, when the reserve fell to \$41,000,000, instead of calling a third time upon the public, the President secured \$100,000,000 in gold by a secret contract with a firm of bankers in New York, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan.

**The bond
issues by
the central
government.**

Vials of popular wrath were poured out upon the head of the President for the transaction, both because he had acted in secret and because he had allowed the bankers to buy the bonds more cheaply than the people had been buying them. They charged that the President of the United States had proved himself a friend of the bankers rather than of the masses,

**The unpopu-
larity of the
secret sale
of bonds.**

and that the secret bond sales were illegal. The relief secured was only temporary, and before the end of the President's term another loan of \$100,000,000 was added to the treasury, this time by a general sale of the bonds in which special effort was made to induce the people of every section to come forward and lend their money to the government.

There was hardly a single popular measure of internal administration in Cleveland's second presidential term. His own executive acts were unpopular, the laws of Congress found little favor, and the Supreme Court offended the people by its declaration of the unconstitutionality of the income tax and its affirmation of the justice of the sentence of Debs for disobedience to the "blanket injunction." Financial depression continued to the end of the administration, and the country entered another presidential campaign in a discontented mood. The suffering and discontent of the farming and industrial classes were at their height. In such a condition of affairs it could not be expected that the radicals in the Democratic party, whose numbers had been increasing in the last four years, would repeat their graceful acceptance of 1892 of a candidate opposed to their demands.

General unpopularity of the administration.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1896

Up to the meeting of the Republican national convention in 1896, which was the first of the great party conventions of the year to assemble, it was not plain whether this party would declare for or against free silver, which was the leading demand of the radical classes. The partial surrender of the Republicans to the advocates of Free Silver in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 afforded some ground for the expectation that the Republican party might now accept the radical demand in its entirety. That some of the Republicans at least contemplated such a step was indicated by the refusal of William McKinley of Ohio, a candidate for the presidential nomination, to commit himself for or against the proposition in advance of the action of the convention. The delegates waged a bitter struggle on the subject and finally decided in favor of the gold standard of value, although they made the concession that they would accept silver also as a standard on the basis of "international bimetallism," that is, if the leading nations of the world would coöperate with the United States in accepting the double standard of value of gold and silver under conditions to be agreed upon. The convention gave the nomination to McKinley over his leading rival, ex-Speaker Thomas B. Reed of Maine.

The Republican platform and nomination.

In the national convention of the Democrats the conservative

element, which stood behind President Cleveland against free silver, was overwhelmed at the very outset. The customary approval of the administration of their own President was refused by the convention in its action striking from the platform the following words, "We commend the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the present Democratic administration." Before the final vote was taken regarding the platform, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska swept the convention off its feet by a masterly speech in favor of free silver and radicalism in general. The orator's voice held the audience spellbound. "Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between 'the idle holders of idle capital' and 'the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country'; and, my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon which side shall the Democratic party fight. Upon the side of 'the idle holders of idle capital,' or upon the side of 'the struggling masses?' . . . The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses, who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party.

The
Democratic
convention.

"There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class that rests upon them. . . . You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country. . . . Having behind us the commercial interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The movement which reached its culmination in this speech had its inception in the marked inequalities of fortune and economic opportunity which arose in the days of the Civil War and after that date; but no spokesman of the movement had commanded the attention of the entire nation as did the young Nebraskan lawyer, in the Democratic convention of 1896.

The culmi-
nation of
political
discontent.

Amid wild enthusiasm the platform advocated by Bryan was adopted. It called for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold, condemned the recent bond issues of the national government in time of peace, and denounced the in-

come tax decision of the Supreme Court and the issue of injunctions by the federal courts. In its various planks it virtually embraced the third party movements of the past quarter of a century, and met the demands of the Greenbackers, the Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers Alliance, and the Populists; the Labor Reformers, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the Union Labor party, and the United Labor party; to a certain extent even of the Socialist Labor party.

The Democratic platform.

On the day after the adoption of the platform, Bryan himself, who was a dark horse, was placed at the head of the ticket, having won the honor by a single speech. He had served two terms in the House of Representatives, where he was known as an orator, though with a reputation far from national.

The Democratic nomination.

So far as candidates were concerned, the contest lay between McKinley and Bryan. The latter was indorsed by thirty-four seceding delegates from the Republican convention, who formed the National Silver party, by a seceding wing of the Prohibition party, and by the more important Populist party. The jocular remark was made that the Populists had captured the Democratic party. The Socialist Labor party did not join the others in indorsing Bryan, but put forward their own candidate.

The other parties.

The Gold Democratic party, made up of seceders from the Democratic party, nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois as their candidate, but on election day the members of this party cast most of their votes for McKinley.

Free coinage of silver meant the free coinage at the government mints of all the silver presented there at the arbitrary ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold, although in the open market it took about thirty-two ounces of silver to equal in value one ounce of gold. The silver coined was to be legal tender, that is, lawful money for the payment of all debts. To coin silver at the proposed ratio, the government would be obliged to coin 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver, then worth about fifty-two cents, and to stamp it as one dollar. The chief argument for the proposition was that the quantity of gold in the world was not large enough to furnish a sufficient supply of money, and that the free coinage of silver would put into circulation the requisite amount of money and relieve distress.

The meaning of free silver.

The Republicans predicted that the unlimited coinage of silver would inflate the currency just as had the greenbacks, and like the greenbacks would drive the more valuable gold from circulation, cause a rapid increase of prices, and foster speculation.

The Republican arguments against free silver.

Despite Bryan's appeal to the "masses against the classes," the

Republicans did not neglect to urge a protective tariff as a cure for the hard times. Thousands of large posters were circulated bearing a portrait of McKinley with the inscription, **The tariff.** "The Advance Agent of Prosperity." Another poster, bearing the title, "The Real Issue," showed McKinley addressing laborers in front of a factory and declaring that it was better to open the factories than the mints, while Bryan was pictured in front of the United States mint, inviting the people of all the world to bring in their silver for free coinage. The platform of the Republicans, it was alleged, stood for "an honest dollar and the chance to earn it."

In no previous presidential contest had there been such an extensive campaign of education. By means of their enormous campaign fund, which has been estimated to have been as great as \$7,000,000, the Republicans, under the direction of the chairman **A campaign of education.** of the Republican National Committee, Marcus A. Hanna, issued over 200,000,000 copies of documents, sent forth thousands of speakers to harangue the people, and supplied hundreds of newspapers with specially prepared matter. The Democrats followed the same methods, though the scope of their operations was limited by their smaller campaign fund. McKinley himself conducted a "front porch" campaign at his home in Canton, Ohio, while Bryan traveled 18,000 miles and delivered approximately 600 speeches to 5,000,000 auditors.

On election day McKinley received 7,100,000 popular votes to 6,500,000 for Bryan, and there was a much smaller vote for the Gold Democrats, the two wings of the Prohibitionists, and the Socialist Labor party. The electoral vote stood 271 for McKinley to 176 for Bryan.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

The result.

E.

GRADUAL RECOVERY OF BUSINESS

Two events of the first year of McKinley's administration placed the business affairs of the country on a new basis and brought about the

gradual dissolution of the organized forces of economic discontent which had rallied to the standard of Bryan. First, in fulfillment of their platform promises, the Republican leaders put through Congress the Dingley Tariff Law, named for Nelson A. Dingley of Maine, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means which framed the bill. The new act restored the rates of the McKinley Act of 1890 and in some instances even went beyond that act as a high protective measure. The duty on raw wool was reinstated, but as a concession to free trade sentiment the principle of reciprocity was again indorsed. The almost constant tariff agitation of the previous fifteen years now gradually subsided. The new law remained on the statute books unchanged for twelve years, during which time the country passed through a period of prosperity.

The second event of far-reaching importance in the business world was the sudden increase in the supply of gold. While Congress was busy with the Dingley Tariff Act, the country was thrown into the greatest mining excitement since the early days of the Comstock Lode in Nevada more than a quarter of a century before, by the news that in less than a week's time two steamers had arrived at San Francisco from Alaska, one bearing forty miners and \$500,000 in gold and the other sixty-eight miners and \$1,250,000 in gold. The new discoveries proved to be in a remote region on the Klondike River, a tributary of the Yukon, over the boundary line from Alaska in the Dominion of Canada. Notwithstanding the difficulties, thousands made their way to the new mines, and in twelve years secured \$125,000,000 worth of treasure, though this rich return was far below the \$500,000,000 produced in the first twelve years of their history by the mines of California.

The next year there was the same excitement over again, and again a rush of fortune seekers at the announcement that gold had been discovered at Cape Nome on the southern part of the western peninsula of Alaska bordering on the Bering Sea. These mines did not prove to be as rich as those of the Klondike, producing in ten years only \$50,000,000; but in conjunction with the latter they led to further discoveries, and from 1906 to 1910 over \$100,000,000 worth of gold was taken from the Alaskan mines alone.

The rapid extension of the gold mining industry in Canada and Alaska was coincident with a similar development in other countries, all of which together produced \$254,000,000 worth of gold in 1900, \$402,000,000 in 1906, and \$466,000,000 in 1912. Newly discovered mines, improved machinery, and improved processes of treating ores were all factors in the wonderful output.

**The Dingley
Tariff Law
of 1897.**

**Gold discov-
eries on the
Klondike
River in
Canada,
over the
boundary
line from
Alaska.**

**Gold dis-
coveries on
Cape Nome
in Alaska.**

**World-wide
increase in
gold production.**

Such a prodigal supply of gold, thrust into the markets so soon after the Democratic argument in 1896 that the gold supply was too small to furnish a basis for the currency of the civilized world, destroyed the main argument of the champions of free silver and removed that issue from the realm of practical politics. Heavy exports of food supplies also brought vast sums of gold into the United States and thus increased the amount of gold within the country. The Gold Standard Act of 1900 definitely established the gold dollar as the standard of value in the United States and enjoined upon the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of maintaining all other forms of money at a parity with that standard. This official repudiation of free silver, for such the adoption of the gold standard amounted to, was received by the conservative business interests of the country with satisfaction, as settling, for this country at least, the vexed problem of the mutual relations of gold and silver coins. Thanks to the abounding prosperity in all sections of the country, the expected outcry of the free silver interests was ineffective and soon ceased. Many economists are even of the opinion that the plentiful supply of gold has now furnished the world with too much money, and that the steady advance of prices since 1896 is attributable to this fact, for with too much money in circulation prices tend to go higher.

The Gold
Standard
Act of 1900.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1893-1898

In 1895 the Monroe Doctrine received emphatic reaffirmation, when it was vigorously and successfully applied in a controversy with Great Britain. That nation was overbearing the weak nation of Venezuela in a dispute concerning the boundary line between Venezuela and the British colony of Guiana, and when Great Britain refused President Cleveland's request to arbitrate the matter it seemed that Venezuela was on the point of losing territory that fairly belonged to her, and that Great Britain, in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine, was about to acquire new territory in the western hemisphere. Displaying the firmness of purpose which characterized all his acts, Cleveland, in a fiery, almost warlike message, proposed to Congress to appoint a commission to determine the right of the matter independently of Great Britain, and then to enforce the decision, come what might. "In making these recommendations," he added, "I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow. I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being

The Vene-
zuelan bound-
ary dispute.

otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness." The patriotism of his countrymen was aroused by the implied threat of war in the President's message, and by the justice of the cause which he advocated, and all parties rallied to his support, ready to accept war rather than yield the point at issue. Great Britain gracefully yielded, and yet as far as possible she saved her dignity by negotiating a treaty of arbitration with Venezuela for the settlement of the trouble by compromise without waiting for the report of the United States commission.

At the end of ten years of civil war, Spain had induced the Cuban rebels in 1878 to lay down their arms by granting to them various concessions, which she followed in 1885 by the abolition of African slavery. Notwithstanding this, another revolt for freedom against the power of the mother country broke out in Cuba in 1895, concerning the causes of which a competent authority has written, "The British colonies in America in 1776 had much less justification for rebellion." There was no popular law-making assembly in the island and no Cuban representative in the law-making body (Cortes) of Spain; nowhere in the island was there a free press, free speech, or free religion. The natives did not belong to the governing class, but were under the arbitrary control of a Spanish governor, and office-holding was the prerogative of Spaniards; the natives were almost entirely excluded from the suffrage and were forced to live under a notoriously corrupt administration.

The task of enforcing the neutrality laws of the United States after the Cuban Declaration of Independence in 1895 was a most difficult one for President Cleveland. Spain sent 121,000 soldiers to maintain her authority, and under General Weyler, who soon became known to the world as "The Butcher," the cruelty of the Spaniards made it harder for the sympathetic neighboring republic to keep her hands off. Recognizing that the strength of the Cuban rebellion was in the country districts, General Weyler resorted to a policy of "reconcentration," that is, he ordered all people of the country within eight days to come within fortified towns to live; and he enforced the order with ruthless severity. The country was devastated, and thousands died in the unsanitary reconcentration camps. In this situation both houses of Congress at Washington passed resolu-

Another
Cuban revolt
against
Spain.
Causes.

The recog-
nition of
insurgency.

tions recognizing the Cubans as belligerents and the general public of the United States supported the resolutions, but President Cleveland, as was his right, refused to put them into effect. There was nothing to justify such a step, said the President, and he could repeat the words of Secretary Fish to President Grant: "The Cubans have no army, no courts, do not occupy a single town or hamlet, to say nothing of a seaport."

Instead, the President recognized the insurgency of the Cubans, a new status in international law which meant that while they had not the standing of belligerents they were recognized as a band of people battling for political and not for merely lawless ends.

As between the insurgents and the mother government of Spain Cleveland strove to enforce strictly the neutrality laws of the United States, first laid down by Washington in 1793. These among other things forbade the fitting out of a vessel or of a military expedition in the United States against a state with which the United States was at peace. Complete enforcement of the law was impossible, and in three years, from 1895 to 1898, at least seventy-one expeditions in aid of the insurgents left the ports of the United States for Cuba, twenty-seven of which landed safely.

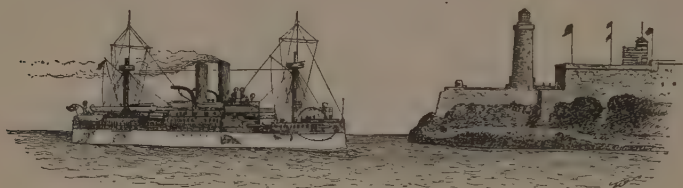
The neutral-
ity of the
United States
in the
struggle.

President McKinley's administration opened March 4, 1897, with the Cuban question overshadowing all others in public interest and day by day approaching a crisis. Despite President Cleveland's efforts, sympathy for the insurgents was on the increase throughout the United States. Spain finally offered autonomy or self-government to the insurgents, but the latter rejected the offer and repeated their demand for independence. American feeling against Spain was distinctly embittered in February, 1898, by an indiscreet utterance of her minister in Washington. In a private letter, which found its way into public print, that diplomat made the undiplomatic statement that McKinley was "a bidder for the admiration of the crowd — a would-be politician"; and a general outburst of indignation in the United States caused his hasty resignation. Matters suddenly came to a head, when, on February 15, the United States battleship *Maine*, on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, was destroyed by an explosion and two hundred and sixty-five of her officers and crew killed. The deed seemed to be the work of the Spaniards, perpetrated out of resentment for the sympathy of the United States with the rebels. A wave of excitement swept over the nation, fanned by the revengeful cry of "Remember the Maine!"

From
neutrality
to armed
intervention.

Public clamor insisted that the time had come to offer open assistance to the insurgents. The United States first demanded that Spain grant an armistice to the Cubans, that is, that she stop the war for a definite period, and when this was not granted in satisfactory terms, on the historic 19th of April, 1898, the anniversary of the battle of Concord and Lexington in the Revolutionary War and of the shedding of the first blood of the Civil

The congressional resolution of April 19, 1898.



THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE" ENTERING HAVANA HARBOR

War on the streets of Baltimore, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution declaring first, "That the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent. Second, that it is the duty of the government of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuban waters. Third, that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect. Fourth, that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereign jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts the determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people." The nation was united in support of the action of Congress, and any lingering sectional feeling between the Northern and Southern States disappeared in a new burst of patriotism. On April 20 President McKinley signed the resolution of intervention, and on April 22 announced to neutral nations the existence of a state of war.

The navy was well prepared for the ensuing war. To Commodore George Dewey, in command of the Asiatic squadron, then at Hong Kong, China, were sent the orders: "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to the Philippine Islands,



commence operations at once, particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors." Dewey, with his squadron, sailed into the harbor of Manila in the Philippine Islands, then Spanish possessions, and at a little after five o'clock in the morning of May 1, 1898, began one of the most extraordinary naval battles in the world's history. "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley," said Dewey to the captain of the flagship, and the battle

The work of the navy at Manila Bay in the Philippine Islands.

began. After barely two hours of fighting the American ships drew off with an idea that their ammunition was low; but finding that there was still plenty they rested and refreshed themselves and returned to finish briefly their work of destruction. The American ships were but slightly damaged and seven of the American sailors were slightly injured, while ten Spanish ships were utterly destroyed, three of their land batteries silenced, and three hundred and eighty-one of their sailors killed and many wounded. Dewey did not go on to take the city of Manila at once, since he had not enough men to hold it, and General Merritt hastened from San Francisco to his assistance with land forces.

The news of this exciting event had hardly been received when, Commodore Schley at the head of the "flying squadron" set out to find another Spanish fleet, which had just arrived on the western side of the Atlantic. The hostile fleet was found in the harbor of Santiago on the southeastern corner of Cuba, and there Captain Sampson, in chief command, ably assisted by Schley, shut them up by blockade. On the third of July the imprisoned Spanish fleet sailed out of the harbor and sought to make its escape. In the running fight every Spanish ship was destroyed and six hundred of their men killed and wounded. The American ships were but slightly injured, and only one American was killed and one wounded. The news reached the United States on the Fourth of July.

The reason for the sudden departure of the Spanish fleet from Santiago was the successful fighting of General Shafter and the United States soldiers before the city on the two previous days. The outlying heights of El Caney and San Juan were stormed and taken, so that the fall of the city seemed only a question of time. The actual surrender came July 17. In another month Porto Rico was taken with no fighting whatever, and at about the same time the city of Manila capitulated.

By the treaty of peace signed in Paris late in 1898, Spain agreed, first, to withdraw from the island of Cuba; second, to cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico; and third, on payment of \$20,000,000 by the United States to cede to the latter power the Philippine Islands. Porto Rico and the Philippines thus became possessions of the United States.

The navy at
Santiago,
Cuba.

The work of
the army.

The treaty of
peace at
Paris, 1898.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

How do you account for the increased amount of partisan legislation in the first two years of the administration of Benjamin Harrison? Recount James G. Blaine's services to Pan-Americanism. Review the part of Blaine in each presidential contest from 1876 to 1892. Review the diplomacy of the Harrison administration concerning questions of the Pacific. What concrete instances can you give in favor of the proposition that Cleveland was a man of great firmness in his political opinions? Why was Cleveland unpopular in his own party when he left the presidency? Compare the unpopularity of the Supreme Court in 1857 and in 1896. Why were the Republicans, before their national convention in 1896, uncertain whether or not they would stand against free silver? Make a list of the territorial acquisitions to the United States, 1783-1915. Which was the most costly? Which the most important? Account for the disappearance of free silver from the Democratic platform. Review the relations of the United States and Cuba, 1848-1898. What were the leading current issues before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1892 and 1896?

1895
1898
1900

PART VIII

A WORLD POWER

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD POLITICS

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

BEFORE the treaty of Paris had added to the United States the insular possessions of Porto Rico and the Philippines, but while the war with Spain was still raging, the United States took the step that President Cleveland had feared was too great an innovation, and annexed the Hawaiian Islands. This was accomplished by a joint resolution of Congress, with the consent of the people of the islands, that is to say, with the consent of the American insurgents, who had been in the control of the islands since 1893. In 1900 came the addition of a portion of the Samoan Islands in the Southern Pacific, which had been the subject of diplomatic negotiation in the administration of Benjamin Harrison.

(The annexation of Hawaii.

The meaning of the new annexations.

These annexations and those of the treaty of Paris, 1898, ushered in a new epoch in the history of the United States. By virtue of them the republic abandoned her former isolated position as an "ocean-bound" republic and enrolled herself as a world power, with world-wide responsibilities and duties. The Monroe Doctrine was involved in new difficulties. If the United States could meddle in the affairs of another hemisphere and plant herself there as she did in the Philippines, why, the world might ask, could not a power of another hemisphere, with equal right, invade America? A further danger in the new order of things lay in the increased possibility that the United States, possessed of the new outposts, might be drawn into the wars of foreign nations. It was, too, a grave responsibility to undertake to govern dependencies in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.

Directly after the battle of Manila in 1898 a United States gunboat had brought to the Philippine Islands from Hong Kong, China, where he had been in hiding, Emilio Aguinaldo, a native of the islands, who

had led a revolt of the islands against Spain in 1896. When the American troops entered Manila they were joined by an army of these insurgents. Aguinaldo claimed that the Americans, in return for his assistance, had made the promise to turn the islands over to him when once they were wrested from Spain, and now he demanded that the promise be fulfilled. Denying that such an agreement had ever been made, the Americans compelled Aguinaldo to lead his forces out of Manila, where their very presence tended to incite a spirit of insurrection against the new rulers. After leaving Manila, Aguinaldo proceeded to organize a Philippine republic with himself at the head, and for four years, 1898-1902, the United States and the Philippine republic contended with one another in guerrilla warfare, in the native fastnesses and jungles, for the possession of the islands. Aguinaldo was captured by the Americans in 1901 through the treachery of some of his followers. In another year the insurrection collapsed, and the power of the United States in the archipelago was established.

The insurrection in the Philippines.

The presidential contest of 1900 was significant as showing how thoroughly the people of the United States indorsed the new colonial policy, and it afforded evidence of the waning power in national politics of the agrarian and industrial agitation which had culminated in 1896. Nothing succeeds like success, and a period of prosperity had come to give strength to the cause of the administration, already intrenched in public esteem by a successful war. President McKinley was renominated by the Republicans on a platform calling for the retention of the Philippines, while the Democrats and Populists again nominated William J. Bryan on a platform reaffirming their advocacy of the free coinage of silver and demanding that the Philippines be given independence. The stress of the Democratic campaign was not placed on the hard lot of the working classes and the unfair advantage of the privileged classes, but rather on the Republican doctrine of imperialism as the chief issue. "Lincoln abolished slavery, McKinley has restored it," "The flag of the republic forever, of an empire never," was the cry of the Democrats. The issue was fought out before the people at the very time when the soldiers of the United States were engaged in putting down the ugly Philippine insurrection. In spite of this uncomfortable fact, the people gave McKinley a popular majority of one million votes, in comparison with the majority of six hundred thousand in 1896. The vote in the electoral colleges stood 292 to 155. The Socialist Labor and the Prohibition parties each polled a very small vote, while the new Social Democratic party, soon to be known

The presidential contest of 1900.

as the Socialist party, signalized its advent into national politics by polling a popular vote of 87,000. This new party went farther than the Populists in making radical demands, looking to still more direct participation in the government by the people and to the governmental control of the transportation routes and manufacturing industries.

September 6, 1901, shortly after the beginning of his second presidential term, at the Pan-American or All-American Exposition, held in Buffalo, New York, to celebrate the progress of friendship and good will between North America and South America, President McKinley, who was visiting the exposition and had just made a speech on the subject of friendly trade relations with foreign nations, was shot by an anarchist. The President lingered eight days and then quietly passed away, sincerely mourned for his attractive personal qualities and for his practical and successful statesmanship.

The assassination of President McKinley.

THREE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The era ushered in by the Spanish war has not yet (1916) come to an end. It is difficult to get a proper perspective of the age in which one lives, but the general trend of development may be observed. Three presidential elections have been held, in 1904, 1908, and in 1912, without changing appreciably the tendencies discernible in 1900. New champions have come to the front from time to time and some slight changes of policy have been introduced, but general characteristics have varied little. A topical rather than chronological study will not only best bring the events of the period to mind but will also best serve as an introduction to the politics of the present day.

In the foreign affairs of the beginning of the twentieth century, the dominant note has been the ever-growing participation of the United States in world politics, while prosperity, increasing direct participation by the people in the affairs of government, and progress in the governmental regulation of corporate wealth, have characterized domestic affairs.

Vice President Roosevelt, who came to the presidency at the death of President McKinley, maintained his own leadership and that of the Republican party by a sweeping victory at the polls in 1904 over his Democratic antagonist, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. The vote in the electoral colleges stood 336 to 140, and at the polls the Republican plurality was over 2,500,000. The Socialists under the lead of Eugene V. Debs, their candidate in 1900, raised their vote to 400,000, the Populists running

The new era.

The dominant note.

The presidential contest of 1904.

alone secured but 117,000 votes, while the Prohibition and Socialist Labor parties again proved very weak. The differences between the two leading parties were slight. The Republicans appealed to their record of prosperity for justification of their policies; the Democrats advocated tariff reform and still had leanings toward Populist doctrines, though they definitely renounced their free silver stand of the two previous campaigns.

In the presidential campaign of 1908, after a spirited contest the nomination of the

The presidential contest of 1908.

Republicans went to the Secretary of War, William H. Taft, who had had a brilliant career as judge in the Circuit Court of the United States, as governor of the Philippine Islands, and as a member of President Roosevelt's cabinet. The Democrats a third time gave their nomination to William J. Bryan, and five small parties entered the field. Inasmuch as the differences between the two leading parties were minor, the campaign was uninteresting. Each stood for a downward revision of the tariff, the curbing of the trusts, publicity of campaign



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

contributions, and the development of the natural resources of the country. Taft, profiting largely by the popularity of the Roosevelt policies, received a popular vote of 7,600,000 to 6,400,000 for Bryan; the electoral vote stood in his favor 321 to 162. The heavy Socialist vote of 1904 was slightly increased, while that of the other "third parties" remained very small.

By 1912 an insurgent element of the Republican party, which was opposed to the Taft administration for its alleged leanings toward conservatism, was so strong as to cause a tremendous conflict within the party over the choice of a presidential candidate. By dint of great exertions the conservatives, who favored no sweeping changes in legislation, gained control of

The Republican split in 1912.

the national convention, and gave the nomination to President Taft over ex-President Roosevelt, who was at the head of the insurgent or progressive wing of the party. So tenacious of their views were the Progressives that, though defeated, they refused to accept the verdict against them, and like the discontented in politics throughout the history of the nation, whenever their numbers have been sufficiently large and their views sufficiently dear, these Republican radicals of 1912 separated themselves from their former party



WOODROW WILSON

and formed the new Progressive party, popularly called the "Bull Moose party." It had been just such a wave of discontent that had called forth the Democratic-Republicans in the time of Washington, the Whigs in Jackson's time, the Republicans in Pierce's, the Liberal Republicans in Grant's, the Gold Democrats in Cleveland's, and the Green-backers, the Prohibitionists, the Populists, and the Socialists, at various times. The platform of the new party called for advanced social legislation in the interest of the laboring classes, woman's suffrage, stricter control of the trusts, and other changes more or less akin to the demands of the Socialists. In their enthusiasm for their leader and founder, the members of the new party of 1912 cast aside the third term tradi-

tion, which from the time of Washington down to 1912 had debarred every President, with the single exception of Grant, from seeking a third term, and nominated ex-President Roosevelt as their candidate. His heroic conduct when attacked by a would-be assassin at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the course of his campaign speaking, increased the ardent admiration of his followers.

There was likewise an exciting contest between the conservatives and the radicals in the Democratic convention, which ended in the victory of the radicals, who succeeded in writing their ideas into the platform and in giving the nomination to Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic

governor of New Jersey. In this case the defeated wing of the party gracefully accepted the verdict against them and remained within the party. The leading figure in the convention was the party's candidate in three past campaigns, William J. Bryan, who as champion of the radical interests again proved himself the master convention orator of the age. As in 1904 and 1908 the differences between the two leading parties were very slight.

The struggle
for the
Democratic
nomination
in 1912

Out of a total of 15,000,000 votes cast on election day Wilson received 6,000,000, Roosevelt 4,000,000, Taft 3,500,000, and Debs, for a fourth time the Socialist candidate, 900,000. The electoral vote was 435 for Wilson, 88 for Roosevelt, and 8 for Taft. Debs received no electoral vote, though his popular vote was nearly double that given him in 1908. The Prohibition and Socialist Labor vote was again almost negligible. So completely had the lines of cleavage of 1896, occasioned by agrarian and industrial discontent, disappeared, that the Populists did not put a candidate into the field. A large part of their strength probably went to the Progressives.

The result
at the polls.

PROBLEMS OF INSULAR GOVERNMENT

One of the problems arising out of the Spanish War was the future of Cuba. The prompt withdrawal of the Spanish troops from the island raised the question whether or not the time had come to withdraw United States troops in accordance with the resolution of Congress of April 19, 1898. If the troops were not at once withdrawn, it would be necessary to decide how long the army was to remain there and how it should be employed. The question was also to be settled whether the United States in the language of the resolution by which the United States had demanded the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, should "leave the government and control of the island to its people," that is, recognize the independence of Cuba as it seemed in duty bound to do, or should forcibly annex it. Without committing himself on the latter question, President McKinley decided that the army should remain in Cuba, temporarily at least; and he set it to work cleaning up the island. Under its supervision modern waterworks, sewers, and paving and lighting facilities, of which the Cuban cities and towns knew little, were installed, and the islanders were taught how to sweep the streets and how to ward off yellow fever. The conquest of this great scourge of the tropics was the result of investigations which proved that the germ of the disease was carried by mosquitoes.

The sanitary
problems in
Cuba.

The problem of Cuban government was approached slowly. The

Cubans were allowed to hold a constitutional convention and to draw up a form of government of their own. The result was an almost exact copy of the government of the United States, and was formally adopted by the Cubans after incorporating in it, to make it acceptable to their protectors, the provisions of the Platt amendment passed by the Congress of the United States as an amendment to an army appropriation act. These were, first, that Cuba make no treaty with a foreign nation which would impair its independence or in any way give to a foreign power lodgment or control in the island; second, that the island observe certain conditions in contracting a public debt; third, that she give to the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty"; and fourth, that the island "sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations."

The new republic started on its way May 20, 1902, under President Palma, who had been President of the insurrectionary republic of Cuba in the seventies and now served again until 1906. An insurrection deposed him shortly after the beginning of his second term, whereupon the United States intervened and remained in the island till peace was restored and a second President, Gomez, went into office in 1909. He was succeeded by President Menocal in 1913.

The settlement of the government of the Philippines was also a difficult matter. Stable civil government had to be provided for 7,500,000 people, scattered among thirty tribes and over three thousand islands, 450,000 of whom were classified by the census-takers as wild. As the problem has been worked out down to the present time, three stages in the development of the American control of the islands have appeared. First, from the cessation of hostilities to the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the islands were under the military power of the President as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. Likewise, in the second stage, from the treaty of peace till special action by Congress in 1902 changing the form of government, the islands were allowed by Congress to remain under the control of the President, who saw fit to associate with himself in their immediate government, first, a military commission and later a civil commission. William H. Taft was the head of this civil commission and was afterwards appointed to be the first civil governor of the Philippines. The third stage in the control of the islands was entered upon in 1902, when Congress took the

The organization of the new republic of Cuba.

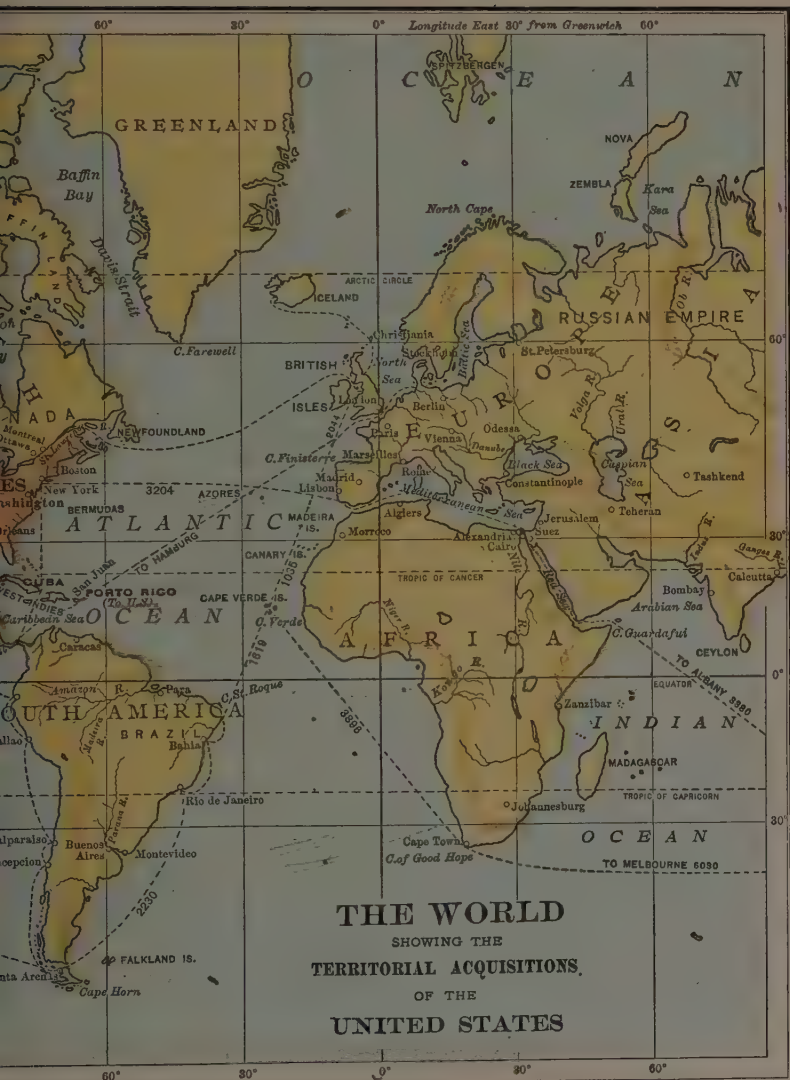
Three Cuban Presidents.

The new government of the Philippine Islands.

- Independent Island Government
1. military
 2. civil
 3. Congress - colonial form of government.

In 1917 Congress passed a Law making the Porto Rican^{is} Citizens of our Country. The Phillipineas are not.





responsibility of the islands from the shoulders of the President and assumed their government itself under a new system. Under this system a native legislative assembly elected by the people was to work in connection with a governor and a commission or upper legislative house, both appointed by the President of the United States. This plan reproduced the British type of colonial government, practiced generally in the American colonies up to 1776, the lower house of the legislature representing the people, and the upper house and the governor representing the mother country. In the Philippines, as in the earlier British colonies, the experiment was attended by conflicts of authority and dissatisfaction of the governed.

The Democratic platform of 1912 declared for "an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established," but demanded that coaling stations and naval bases should be retained. In the spirit of this declaration President Wilson in 1913 granted to the islands an increase of self-government by making his appointments to the upper house of the legislature such that the natives would be in a majority in that body, and by throwing many other offices open to them.

More self-government granted to the Philippines in 1913.

Essentially the same plan of government was established in Porto Rico as Congress set up in the Philippine Islands, here too with serious conflicts of authority. The clash in Porto Rico between the lower house of the legislature on the one hand, and the governor and the upper house on the other, became so bitter that at one time the lower house refused to vote the appropriations necessary to meet the running expenses of the government. The affairs of the island government were deadlocked until the Congress of the United States availed itself of a course of action worked out by the British in their long experience in colonial affairs, and by a new act provided that it would be lawful in such a crisis for the authorities of the United States in Porto Rico to assume that the appropriations voted by the island legislature for the preceding year were also voted for the coming year.

The new government in Porto Rico.

Porto Rico has prospered under the control of the United States. Whereas, when she came into the possession of the United States in 1898, there was but one building in the island erected for school purposes, in 1913 there were three hundred and seventy-five school buildings. In the first year of United States administration 26,000 pupils were enrolled in the schools, but in 1915 over 160,000. There were 170 miles of macadamized highways

The prosperity of Porto Rico.

in 1898, but in 1915 over 660 miles of good roads. The exportation of sugar, the staple crop of the island, has increased from 68,000 tons in 1901 to 380,000 tons in 1915, the total foreign commerce from \$17,000,000 yearly to \$86,000,000.

The same progress has followed the control of the United States in her other possessions. She now holds in all 8000 islands, which support a population of 10,000,000, or more than the entire population of the United States a century ago. The commerce of these islands with the United States exceeds \$325,000,000, or as much as the total commerce of the United States in 1850.

The inhabitants of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, Alaska, and Hawaii became citizens of the United States by the annexation of their territory. In the case of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico the treaty of cession to the United States did not confer citizenship, but the question of their status was left to be decided by the Congress of the United States. Acts of Congress have accordingly declared these inhabitants citizens of their respective islands but not citizens of the United States. The Dred Scott Decision had maintained that the Constitution of its own force and with all its provisions extended to all the lands of the United States. After the Spanish War of 1898 the Supreme Court decided that certain parts of the Constitution did not necessarily extend to all the country's possessions, in other words that the Constitution did not necessarily follow the flag. Congress was therefore in a position to exercise over the various islands any form of government it saw fit, subject to the approval of the Supreme Court. Says a prominent legal authority: Congress has full power "to take such action as it deems best regarding the government, administration, and fundamental laws of dependent territory, whether that territory be mainland or be an island in the Pacific. . . . In the exercise of this power Congress is under no obligation to adopt any rules of general application, but may modify its action as in its judgment seems wise, in order to meet varying conditions."

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The fears of the anti-imperialists of 1898-1900 that a rising war spirit would accompany the participation of the United States in world politics were fortunately not realized. There arose, instead, a world-wide movement in favor of international peace and arbitration, not originating in the United States but powerfully aided by her sympathy and coöperation. In 1899 the Czar of Russia invited the nations of the world to meet

The peace
conference
at The Hague,
1899.

in The Hague, Holland, to confer as to the best methods of lessening the number of wars and their cruelties. Twenty-six governments, including the United States and most of the states of Europe, were represented. Tentative agreements were formulated concerning the laws of war on land and sea, and concerning international arbitration. Declarations, signed by most of the leading powers, were made against the throwing of projectiles from balloons, against the use of projectiles filled with poisonous gases, and against the use of dum dum bullets which expand or flatten upon striking.

The United States was quick to support the international court of arbitration recommended by the conference. The settlement of disputes by this method had been common in her history. From Washington to McKinley fifty-seven treaties of arbitration were entered into by the United States, the most noteworthy being that in connection with the Alabama claims, and after the establishment of the new court, from 1900 to 1909, twenty-four more such treaties were negotiated. The international court of arbitration, which now meets in a beautiful peace palace at The Hague, erected by the American multimillionaire, Andrew Carnegie, has settled almost a score of international questions, some of which might otherwise have led to serious consequences and even to war. The first case to come before the court arose out of a dispute between Mexico and the United States over the "Pious Fund," a charitable fund dating from the early days of Spanish rule in California. This fund had first been under the control of the Jesuits and then of the Franciscans, from whom it had been taken over first by Spain and then by the new republic of Mexico. By way of indemnity Mexico had promised to the church authorities payment in perpetuity of six per cent on the capital confiscated, but the payments had ceased when California passed to the United States. On behalf of the church the United States demanded settlement from Mexico, and by the award Mexico was forced to pay \$1,420,000 and thereafter \$43,000 annually.

In 1910 the same tribunal brought to an end the century-old dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the respective rights of the two nations on the fishing grounds of the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland. By the treaty of Paris, 1783, the right of the United States to fish in certain parts off the Newfoundland coasts was recognized. Great Britain claimed that these rights were annulled by the War of 1812 and were not renewed by the treaty of Ghent. The United States contended that these rights could not be annulled by this war, as they were

The international court of arbitration at The Hague.

The settlement at The Hague of the dispute with Great Britain over fishing rights off Newfoundland.

enjoyed by the colonists before 1776 and were therefore independent of a treaty. Various treaties on the subject from time to time defined the respective rights of the two countries, but disputes continued, till at length they were submitted to The Hague tribunal. The decision allowed Great Britain to make reasonable rules to govern the fishermen on the Banks, but prevented her from subjecting the fishermen of the United States there to unjust dues and from forbidding them to enter British ports to buy bait and supplies and to dry their fish. The moral effect of the award was the more impressive from the fact that the representative of the United States on the board of arbitration voted against the leading contentions of his own country.

The boundary line of Alaska settled by arbitration.

In 1903, by a special court of arbitration appointed by the United States and Great Britain, the boundary line between Alaska and the Dominion of Canada was finally settled.

The Taft arbitration treaties.

After these signal triumphs of arbitration, as remarkable as that of the Geneva award on the Alabama claims and the settlement of the dispute over the seal fisheries of the Alaskan waters, President Taft gave himself ardently to the extension of the general principle of arbitration by the negotiation of comprehensive peace treaties both with Great Britain and with France. The Roosevelt arbitration treaties with these two countries, 1908, had expressly stipulated that only "differences of a legal nature" should be submitted to arbitration at the Hague, that is, "differences that do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting parties." The Taft treaties, 1911, submitted to the same arbitration "all differences . . . which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law and equity." Quarrels, however, it was argued, would arise over the interpretation of "justiciable," particularly as to whether differences concerned with the "vital interest" of the Monroe Doctrine were justiciable; and President Taft's agreements were never ratified.

The Wilson administration had not been in office six months before it proceeded to negotiate a series of treaties, which sought to serve the cause of international peace by a different plan, called "diplomatic postponement." More than a score of nations, including Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and most of the republics of Central and South America, have formally accepted such treaties with the United States, which provide, first, that "all disputes . . . of every nature whatsoever, to the settlement of which previous arbitration treaties or agreements do not apply in their terms or are not applied in fact," shall be referred to a permanent

The Wilson peace treaties.

international commission for investigation and report; second, that the commission shall have one year in which to complete its work; and third, that the two nations concerned shall not begin war on one another over the question under consideration before twelve months shall have elapsed. It is believed that the interim will give national passions time to cool and in most cases prevent war. Moreover, the permanent commission, ready to act at all times, is empowered by the treaties to investigate the questions in dispute, whether the embroiled nations seek its good offices or not.

In 1905, after Japan and Russia had been at war with one another for more than a year over their respective rights in Korea and Manchuria, President Roosevelt induced both powers to send representatives to the United States to discuss terms of peace. They met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and succeeded in reaching terms that brought the war to a close. For these services in the cause of international peace President Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel prize of \$40,000, granted yearly from the income of the estate left by Alfred Nobel, a Swedish scientist, to men who distinguish themselves in science, letters, or international affairs. The same honor was later conferred on Elihu Root, Secretary of War and Secretary of State under President Roosevelt and afterward United States Senator from New York, for his work in behalf of international peace.

As champion of peace President Roosevelt suggested the calling of a second peace conference at The Hague in 1907, but he yielded to the Czar of Russia the honor of actually extending the call. Forty-four governments were represented in this second conference. The deliberations of the conference, held in the home of the permanent court of international arbitration, resulted in the formation of tentative agreements, all subject to ratification by the nations, touching such subjects as arbitration, the employment of force in the recovery of international debts, the manner in which wars shall be opened, the laws and customs of war on land and on sea, the rights and duties of neutrals, submarine mines, bombardment, and the creation of an international prize court. Most of these articles were ratified by the leading nations of the world. A third conference was recommended to be held at The Hague in 1915, but because of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 this did not convene.

While the first peace conference at The Hague achieved the creation of the international court of arbitration, the second contributed the recommendation of a Supreme Court of the World, not to supersede the existing tribunal but to supplement it. The difference between award by arbitration

**The treaty of
Portsmouth.**

**The second
The Hague
peace
conference.**

**A Supreme
Court of the
World
suggested.**

and award by a court is obvious. When arbitration is resorted to, the parties in dispute select from a permanent list of arbitrators, appointed by the different nations, certain referees to settle their controversy; the board is not the same body in any two cases, the decision is not made in accordance with definitely established principles of law, and the principles of any one case do not necessarily apply to any other case. A Supreme Court of the World, on the other hand, would consist of judges appointed for a term of years; it would convene regularly and in it the same body of men would pass upon the different cases and administer the regularly accepted rules of international law; a single case would not be decided out of connection with the other cases before the court, but precedents would grow up for the guidance of the judges.

Said General Grant in 1879: "Although educated and brought up as a soldier, and probably having been in as many battles as any one else, certainly in as many as most people could take part in, yet there never was a time nor a day when it was not my desire that some just and fair way should be established for settling difficulties, instead of bringing innocent persons into conflict, and withdrawing from productive labor able-bodied men, who in a large majority of cases have no particular interest in the subject over which they are contending. I look forward to a day when there shall be courts established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations, and settle by arbitration or decision of such courts, their questions."

The Supreme Court of the World has never come into existence and many difficulties will doubtlessly be encountered in inaugurating it; but that the first step has been taken in the direction of the creation of a Supreme Court for all peoples, the dream of centuries, is an indication of progress toward the unity of mankind.

THE PANAMA CANAL AND OTHER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

The territorial additions to the United States at the close of the nineteenth century, like those of the middle of the century, directed public attention to the desirability of improving transportation facilities between the Atlantic and the Pacific by the construction of an interoceanic canal. The attitude of the nation toward the original plan of 1850 for a joint control over such canal with Great Britain underwent a change in the next half century. The presence of the French in Mexico during the Civil War brought a new realization to Americans of what it might mean to the nation to have a strong European

The growing demand for an Atlantic-Pacific canal in Central America.

power secure lodgment in Central or South America. This apprehension was presently accentuated by the expenditure of \$300,000,000 by the French in their attempt to build a French Atlantic-Pacific Canal at the Isthmus of Panama, and again by the aggressive attitude shown by Great Britain toward a weak American republic in the Venezuelan boundary episode. A strictly national canal was coming to be the demand of the country. The war with Spain came on, and at the outset the largest and best battleship of the United States, the *Oregon*, needed in Cuban waters but located off San Francisco, was obliged to make a voyage of 12,000 miles around South America before she could go on the duty which was desired of her. *Via* the proposed canal, either at Nicaragua or at Panama, Cuban waters were removed from California only about 4000 miles. The voyage demonstrated the military value of the proposed canal, and the necessity to the United States of exercising sole control over it.

As in 1850, so at the end of the century, the most popular of the proposed routes ran through Nicaragua, over which hovered, like a forbidding spirit, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with its stipulation that Great Britain must be taken in as a partner if the canal should be located there. How to get rid of the treaty became an all-absorbing question. President McKinley and after him President Roosevelt, through their Secretary of State John Hay, took the initiative, and out of the resulting negotiations with Great Britain came the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, 1901. By the terms of the new treaty that of 1850 was "superseded," and it was agreed that the canal, by whatever route, "may be constructed under the auspices of the government of the United States alone," and that "subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the said government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction."

The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901.

The question still remained, which route, Nicaragua or Panama? Events followed rapidly. Committees of Congress and commissions appointed by the President investigated the relative merits of all proposed routes and both houses of Congress debated the subject. One commission, headed by Admiral Walker, reported in favor of locating the waterway in Nicaragua, and then suddenly changed its recommendation in favor of Panama when it was ascertained that the French Panama Company, which was still in existence, would dispose of its rights and all its property still remaining in Panama for \$40,000,000. Congress authorized the buying out of the French company and the location of the canal along the old French route in Panama, then a part of Colombia

Which route, Panama or Nicaragua?

(once New Granada), if the right of way could be secured; and if Colombia would not grant this, the route through Nicaragua was to be chosen. Colombia was offered \$10,000,000 outright and \$250,000 yearly for the grant to the United States of certain rights over a strip of land for the canal, but probably hoping for more generous terms she turned a deaf ear and adjourned her Congress, October 31, 1903, without accepting the offer. Within a few days Panama, in a bloodless revolution, declared herself independent of Colombia, and President Roosevelt hastened to recognize the new state as a free and independent nation. Panama herself then speedily concluded the desired treaty with the United States, giving to the latter power complete sovereignty over a strip of land across her territory ten miles wide. Panama secured practically the same compensation as was offered to Colombia, and made sure for herself the commercial benefits that she feared through Colombia's delay would slip away to Nicaragua. The United States gained the concession that it desired; but both nations were criticized for the unseemly haste of their actions, and President Roosevelt did not escape the accusation that he had aided and abetted the revolution in Panama to further his country's welfare.

Dirt began to fly on the Isthmus in the spring of 1904; and in 1913 the first ship passed through the waters of the canal. The excavation is fifty miles long, with a channel ranging from 300 to 1,000 feet wide, ample to accommodate the largest of the world's ships. Twelve locks lift the ships from level to level. In spite of the fact that at one time as many as 39,000 people were at work on the undertaking, the heavy mortality attending the construction of the Panama Railroad in the fifties and of the attempted French canal in the eighties was obviated. The engineers in charge of the work, with Colonel George W. Goethals of the United States army at their head, demonstrated the efficiency of modern methods of sanitation in the elimination of disease. Fever stricken and deadly fifty years ago, when the railroad was put through, to-day the canal zone is practically free from fever. In the warfare on the disease-bearing mosquitoes the swamps have been drained, the houses carefully screened, hospitals erected, and pure water secured. The estimated cost of the canal is \$375,000,000, while in addition many millions have been expended upon the fortification of the waterway.

In 1912 Congress passed a law for the government of the canal, which was then rapidly nearing completion. The act exempted the coastwise shipping of the United States, for example vessels sailing from New York to San Francisco, from the payment of all tolls in passing through the canal, and levied tolls on

**The canal
completed.**

**The question
of tolls on
the canal.**

the foreign shipping of the United States, for example, vessels passing from New York to the cities on the west coast of South America, and on all foreign ships passing through the canal. Both while the bill was under consideration in Congress and after it had been enacted into law by the signature of President Taft, Great Britain interposed vigorous objection to any difference of treatment in the matter of tolls for her vessels and those of the United States. She based her objections on the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901. The preamble of this treaty contained the words, "without impairing the general principle of neutralization established in article VIII" of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. In other words, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 continued the general principle of neutrality of the treaty of 1850, in accordance with which an Atlantic-Pacific canal, wherever built, was to be "open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms." Moreover, the British urged, in the first of the six rules adopted by the United States in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty "as the basis of the neutralization of such ship canal," there were these words, "The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise." For these two reasons Great Britain claimed that canal tolls at Panama, imposed on the vessels of the United States, could not be lower than those imposed on the vessels of Great Britain.

The crux of the debate which followed in the spring of 1914, when President Wilson asked Congress to repeal the toll exemption clause of the law of 1912, was the meaning of the phrase "all nations" in the rule already quoted. The friends of **The decision of Congress.** discrimination in tolls claimed that all nations that were not owners of the canal, that is, all other nations than the United States, were meant, while those who urged the repeal of unequal tolls insisted that "all nations" included the United States. Congress took the latter view and repealed the discrimination in favor of her coastwise ships, though the repeal was so worded as not to "waive or impair any right of the United States under such treaties . . . with respect to the sovereignty over or the ownership, control and management of said canal and the regulation of the conditions or the charges of traffic through the same," so that it is possible that the question may come up again at some future time. All vessels now using the canal pay the same tolls.

Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson have made efforts to con-

clude a treaty with Colombia to compensate her for the loss of her seceded district, Panama. The proposal now pending before the Senate of the United States provides that the United States shall not only pay to Colombia \$25,000,000, but shall also express to her regret for the events of the revolution of Panama in 1903.

The proposal of compensation to Colombia for the loss of Panama.

Hardly had the government completed its work at Panama when it embarked on the construction of a huge trunk line railroad in Alaska, one thousand miles long, designed to open up the resources of the territory to outside trade. It is the first experiment on a large scale of the government ownership of railroads in the United States. In prosecuting the undertaking the President will employ army engineers and will use the Panama canal machinery and equipment, while the rates of traffic on the road, when completed, will be not only regulated but fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A government railroad in Alaska.

The canal in Panama and the railroad in Alaska are striking illustrations of the change that has come in the last seventy-five years in the attitude of the government toward internal improvements. In Jefferson's time, when the opening of the new western frontier beyond the Alleghanies demonstrated the necessity of the improvement of transportation facilities such as roads, bridges, and canals, the United States at first consented to undertake the work.

The modern doctrine of public improvements at the expense of the nation.

It then drew back and the states directly affected took up the task. When the states found the difficulties confronting them too heavy after the panic of 1837, the national government slowly returned to its original policy, first through grants of land to the states themselves to be disposed of by them for the support of private companies; then by direct gifts of land to the companies engaged in making the improvements, as in the case of the Union Pacific railroad; and finally, after the Civil War, by making many improvements itself. Millions of dollars, sometimes hundreds of millions, are now expended by the national government every year on rivers, harbors, bridges, public buildings, and other improvements.

The states themselves are almost as lavish as the national government in the support of strictly state works. At the present time New York is engaged in expending \$100,000,000 in improving her canal system, and an equally large sum in the improvement of hundreds of miles of state highways.

State improvements in New York.

Cities, too, undertake mammoth works, that would have seemed incredible half a century ago. New York City, which is at work on an

extensive underground system of transportation facilities, which will in the end cost hundreds of millions of dollars, has just brought to completion an aqueduct, which as an engineering triumph may almost be compared with the Panama Canal. The canal at Panama is fifty miles long and has cost \$375,000,000. The aqueduct of New York from the Catskill Mountains has cost \$175,000,000, and is more than one hundred miles long. It includes four reservoirs, fifty miles of tunneling through the solid rock, fifty-five miles of cut and cover tunneling, and ten miles of steel pipe construction. The mountain waters are first gathered in the Ashokan reservoir, twelve miles long, one mile wide, and in some places one hundred and ninety feet deep, in the construction of which thirteen miles of railroad track were removed, thirty miles of highway re-located and seven villages removed. At Storm King Mountain, four miles above West Point, the water is plunged underneath the Hudson River in a siphon tunnel cut out of the solid rock, reaching one thousand one hundred feet below the level of the river. Thence south to New York City, through the entire length of Manhattan Island and across to Long Island the water runs in the longest rock tunnel in the world, in some places hundreds of feet below the level of the city. The present consumption of water in New York City reaches 500,000,000 gallons per day, and the new system furnishes more than double this supply.

The new
aqueduct
of New York

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

With the assumption of her new rôle in world politics, and with a permanent investment at Panama of \$375,000,000 to safeguard, the United States finds the Monroe Doctrine still an important tenet of its national policy, though fraught with increasing difficulty of application.

Present im-
portance of
the Monroe
Doctrine.

Supported by the military and naval power of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine has proved successful in securing to the southern republics opportunity to continue their national development free from outside influence, at the very time of Africa's ruthless partition and China's hardly less bitter fate. There are, however, dangers in the vagueness of the doctrine, and in the invitation which it seems to extend to the southern republics to be reckless in their foreign relations, upon the almost certain knowledge that the United States will step in to protect them from too vigorous action on the part of the outside powers. How far to go in awarding protection, what to allow the nations of Europe to do in South America and what not to allow them to do, as they seek redress for grievances

Difficulties of
application.

from the protected states, are perplexing national problems. Extreme caution must also be exercised by the United States to avoid wounding the pride of the younger nations, especially of the three powers of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, the "A. B. C." powers of South America, which are to-day strong nations. Bismarck, the great German statesman, characterized the Monroe Doctrine as a piece of "international impertinence"; ex-President Taft has termed it "international philanthropy," while the South American republics themselves generally look upon it with suspicion.

**Reservation
of the Mon-
roe Doctrine.**

In giving her adherence to the principle of arbitration promulgated at The Hague, the United States gave notice to the world that she did not in any way abandon the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1902-1903, less than ten years after the United States had protected her from the aggressions of Great Britain, Venezuela was

**Venezuela's
troubles
with Ger-
many, Great
Britain, and
Italy.**

again involved in difficulties with European powers. Citizens of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy had claims on her for injuries which they had received during revolutions in that country and for deferred interest on Venezuelan bonds. Venezuela refused arbitration in the matter, and after Germany had given formal notice to the United States that she did not intend to acquire territory in Venezuela the three powers joined in a "pacific blockade" of four Venezuelan ports, including the mouth of the Orinoco River. The fleet of the allies captured that of Venezuela and bombarded her coast in three places! All South America and Central America were alarmed, lest the episode serve as a precedent and financial intervention in American affairs by European powers lead to territorial occupation, conquest, and the utter breaking down of the Monroe Doctrine. Dr. Luis Drago, Foreign Minister in Argentine, dispatched a note to President Roosevelt in which he formulated what might be regarded as an addition to the Monroe Doctrine. He urged "that a public debt cannot give rise to the right of intervention, and much less to the occupation of the soil of any American nation by any European power." Drago believed that in making loans creditors took into consideration the chances of getting their money back and made terms accordingly; he admitted that a debtor state should pay its debts, but contended that, guided by considerations of its own honor and future credit, it should be allowed to pay these debts in its own manner, free from intimidation from outside powers.

President Roosevelt did not accept the Drago Doctrine. In a message to Congress he took the position that the United States

would not go to war to prevent a European nation from collecting its just debts in South America, providing that the punishment inflicted on the offending state did "not take the form of acquisition of territory on the American continent or the islands adjacent." In accordance with this principle, the United States could not allow a foreign state to enforce the payment of its debts by taking possession of a South American customhouse.

President Roosevelt's rejection of the Drago Doctrine.

It was the part of wisdom for the United States to formulate some plan to secure the payment of the debts and if possible avert a crisis. After the blockade of Venezuela had gone on for a year, President Roosevelt induced Venezuela to come to terms, and the claims of the three powers of Europe and of all other powers against Venezuela were submitted to a commission for examination, which brought in a report that only one-fifth of the claims were genuine and that even those of the citizens of the United States were many times too large. Venezuela satisfied her creditors in compliance with the award.

Settlement of the Venezuelan question by arbitration.

In 1904, when certain European powers were again contemplating forcible collection of debts, this time from the negro republic of Santo Domingo, President Roosevelt, fearful of the consequences if the action of the European powers toward Venezuela were allowed to be repeated and thus to establish a precedent, decided, in the name of the United States, to take charge of the finances of the island till these were straightened out. First, by a working agreement with Santo Domingo, which did not require the sanction of the Senate of the United States, and later by a formal treaty, the President appointed a receiver for the little island republic, under whom its financial affairs are still administered. Both the creditors of Santo Domingo and the island itself are satisfied, and at the same time the dangers of a repetition of forcible collection of debts by European powers are warded off.

Application of the Monroe Doctrine in Santo Domingo.

The forcible collection of debts by an outside nation was brought forward by the United States as a topic for discussion at the second conference at The Hague. Most of the nations of the world subscribed to the rule there adopted, that armed force should not be used for the recovery of contract debts save when the debtor state refused either to accept arbitration or to abide by an award of arbitration.

The Hague rule on forcible collection of international debts.

The Pan-American policy of President Taft, like that of President Roosevelt, was pitched on a high plane of good will and friendship to all America. He proposed and carried out the mediation of the

United States, Argentina, and Brazil, which prevented war between Peru and Ecuador, when the opposing armies of these two countries were marching on one another. By his kindly offices President Taft also prevented war between the two island republics of Hayti and Santo Domingo, and he composed a civil uprising in Nicaragua. He proposed treaties with the last named republic and with the neighboring state of Honduras, under which the United States was to assume the control of the finances of these two states, after the manner of the arrangement in Santo Domingo and for similar reasons; but these two treaties have never been ratified by the Senate of the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine under President Taft.

Following the precedent set by President Roosevelt, who had sent his Secretary of State, Elihu Root, to attend the Pan-American Congress at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1906, President Taft sent his Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, on a long tour through South America. By their many public addresses in the various southern republics the two Secretaries helped to increase the growing spirit of good will between North America and South America.

American Secretaries in South America.

In the summer of 1911 the Mexicans were in revolt against their President Diaz, who had been reëlected seven times and was then serving his thirty-first year as the head of the republic. His rule, though long maintained, had been arbitrary and extremely conservative; the people had been oppressed, taxes had been heavy, and the ownership of most of the land had passed into the control of a few hands. Diaz was at last forced to resign and to leave the country. His successor, President Madero, stood for democratic views, for the distribution of the land and the extension of privileges to the people; but his hand was not strong enough to bring peace, and his two short years of rule were harassed by constant uprisings of the conservative classes. As the investments of the citizens of the United States in the mines, railroads, waterworks, and other enterprises in Mexico, amounting, it was estimated, to \$1,000,000,000, were seriously affected by the continued strife, pressure on President Taft for armed intervention in Mexico was strong. Such a course would have meant war on an unfortunate neighbor, with all its attendant expense and horror, and the impairment of that peace and friendship which it was the ideal of the highest statesmanship of the United States to cultivate with the sister republics of America. President Taft mobilized the army of the United States on the Texas border and patrolled the boundary line to insure strict neutrality, but with commendable firmness he did not cross the line.

The Mexican question under President Taft.

Under President Wilson the Mexican situation reached a more acute phase. In the very last days of the Taft administration President Madero was assassinated in the city of Mexico and General Huerta was installed in his place. Violent civil strife followed. The charge was made that Huerta was implicated in the killing of his predecessor, and Wilson refused to recognize as President of the sister republic one who had attained his position by assassination, although recognition was awarded him by the leading powers of Europe. Resentment among the conservatives of Mexico at this stand of President Wilson waxed hotter every day. On April 9, 1914, United States sailors were arrested without justification at Tampico, Mexico, by the soldiers of General Huerta. The latter ordered the release of the prisoners within an hour and sent an apology and even an expression of regret over the incident to the authorities of the United States; but Admiral Mayo, in command of the United States fleet in the harbor of Tampico, believed that the honor and the dignity of his country were not satisfied, and demanded from the Mexicans a salute of twenty-one guns to the United States flag. This Huerta refused. Citizens of the United States had suffered various indignities in Mexico, and the nation was beginning to chafe somewhat under President Wilson's conservative policy of "watchful waiting." The President at last decided upon a display of force in Mexico and with the support of Congress landed an army in Vera Cruz, Mexico, to compel Huerta to salute the flag. A score of the landing forces and many more Mexicans were killed, and war between the United States and Mexico seemed certain.

The Mexican crisis under President Wilson.

At this point the value of Pan-Americanism was demonstrated. Argentine, Brazil, and Chile proposed mediation in the crisis between the hostile states, and their good offices were accepted. "A. B. C." The ambassadors at Washington from the three South American republics met with the representatives of the United States and Mexico at Niagara Falls in Canada and after some weeks of conference reached an agreement, looking to the adjustment of the difficulties, which was accepted by both parties. This among other things involved the retirement of Huerta. On July 15, 1914, Huerta resigned the Mexican presidency and departed from Mexico. Later in the year the United States withdrew its forces from Vera Cruz; but civil war still continued. The joint action of the South American republics at Niagara, in line with the precedent in the previous administration, greatly strengthened the Pan-American movement. Finally, toward the end of 1915, President Wilson interfered among the contending factions by officially recognizing General Carranza

as the rightful President of Mexico and other nations followed his example.

The growing national power of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, and the increasing frequency of united action by the United States and the other American republics give emphasis to the proposal that the three large southern republics, if not all, be associated with the United States in support of the Monroe Doctrine. Such a united representation in any crisis would render the Doctrine more respected abroad and more popular on the American continent.

In 1916, after Villa, the leader of a faction in Mexico, with a band of followers had crossed the border into New Mexico and shot to death a number of American citizens, General Pershing was sent into Mexico with a division of soldiers to punish the outlaws. The bandit was not captured, but the outrages on the border ceased.

United States
troops in
Mexico.

THE FAR EAST

In 1907, President Roosevelt sent a fleet of sixteen battleships on a voyage around the world. They passed through the Straits of Magellan and stopped at San Francisco, Honolulu, and Manila, and at ports in Japan, China, and Australia, and returned home through the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean Sea, visiting the leading countries of southern and central Europe. Though forty thousand miles were covered, not a ship was disabled, and the international prestige of the navy of the United States was greatly enhanced.

Voyage of
the fleet
around the
world.

The advantage of having troops in the Philippines to protect the eastern interests of the United States was demonstrated in difficulties which arose with the Chinese. The traditional friendship of the United States for China was tested on the occasion of the "Boxer" rebellion in China in 1900, which was an uprising of certain warlike Chinese societies against the foreigners in their midst. Many Europeans and some Americans were massacred. In the national capital, Peking, the foreign legations were besieged by regular armed forces of the Chinese. When the British, German, Italian, Russian, French, Austrian, Japanese, and American soldiers at last succeeded in putting down the uprising, John Hay, the Secretary of State, made energetic efforts to prevent the European powers from disregarding the principle of the "open door" in China, that is, from taking, each one for itself, a "sphere of influence" in China, or in other words appropriating a section of the country in which each might enjoy rights superior to those of other nations. Hay believed in equal chances of trade to all for-

The "Open
Door" in
China.

eigners in China and special privileges to none, and by skillful diplomacy he carried his point. As indemnity for the destruction of the life and the property of the foreigners China agreed to pay to the powers \$300,000,000. The \$24,000,000, which was the share of the United States in this vast sum, was so far in excess of her actual losses that she returned to China \$13,000,000. At this exhibition of good will the government of China was moved to make use of the unique benefaction in sending native students to the United States for education, and to-day, through these funds, hundreds of Chinese boys and girls are in attendance at American schools and colleges. A more effective means of promoting international good will could hardly be devised.

"Dollar diplomacy," by which is meant the endeavor of diplomatic officials to advance the private commercial interests of their countrymen, was resorted to by the Taft administration to "Dollar diplomacy." retrieve the declining fortunes of American commerce in China. President Taft came to the conclusion that the greater prosperity of the foreign commerce of other nations with that kingdom was in part due to the loans which the citizens of those countries made to China. Conditions were in many cases attached to such loans, as, for instance, that the money loaned must be expended in the purchase of commodities from the country whence came the loan. When in 1909 British, French, and German bankers signed an agreement to finance the construction of an important Chinese railroad, President Taft, by direct personal application to the Chinese regent, secured to American bankers the right to participate in the loan. Emboldened by this success, the administration then embarked on three other policies which were not so successful. First, Taft proposed to the nations of the world to neutralize the railways of Manchuria and save them to China from outside spoliation; no nation accepted the proposal and out of resentment Japan and Russia, hostile to China's best interests and believing that Manchuria was their sphere of influence, drew closer together for mutual protection of their interests in China. Second, the United States proposed the building of a railroad in Manchuria by an international syndicate, but no other power seconded the proposal. Third, the Americans consented to participate with the "six power group" in lending \$300,000,000 to the new republic of China which was set up in 1912. Conditions were stipulated concerning the use of the money and the manner in which the revenue should be raised in China to pay the loan; one power even laid it down that China must use no part of the \$300,000,000 in building railroads within her territory, and another that she must not expend any of the money on her army. China rejected the conditions as an infringement upon her

sovereignty, but again asked the six powers for a loan of \$125,000,000. While the negotiations over the new proposal were going on, President Taft's term of office expired, and one of the first acts of President Wilson was to withdraw the United States from the six power group. The new President did not believe, with his predecessor, that the diplomatic agencies of the government of the United States should be used to further private commercial interests. The new administration in Washington showed its friendliness, however, to the Chinese by recognizing the new republic which they had formed, as the national government of China.

As in the *Caroline* affair in the middle of the century and in the trouble with Italy in Benjamin Harrison's administration, a state's action disturbed the cordial relations of the United States with a foreign government in Roosevelt's and again in Wilson's administration. The legislature of the state of California, where many Japanese were settled, proposed to pass a law forbidding the Japanese to attend the public schools with the white children of that state and forcing them to attend separate schools. Japan was incensed at the seeming disrespect to her national dignity, and claimed that the proposed legislation was contrary to her treaty rights in the United States. Without committing himself on the wisdom or the legality of California's step, President Roosevelt appealed to the state to desist before she involve the entire nation in a serious international crisis and possible war, and the law was not passed. In 1913 the same state again brought the nation into difficulty; and this time, in spite of the protests of the administration in Washington, she enacted a law highly obnoxious to the Japanese. She forbade aliens, who were not eligible to United States citizenship, to own land within her borders for certain agricultural purposes, and thereby she debarred the Japanese among other peoples, without specifying them as a nation.

An attempt is now being made to reach a solution of the difficulties of the two nations by the negotiation of a new treaty with Japan.

A new treaty projected. Clashes of authority between the nation and the states, in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States, will probably persist in some form so long as the states have the power of alienating foreign governments beyond the power of the federal government to force them to desist.

THE WAR IN EUROPE

At the beginning of August, 1914, the greatest war in history broke out in Europe, between Germany and Austria, on the one hand, and Russia, France, Servia, England, Belgium, Montenegro, and Japan

on the other. The latter, called the Allies, were later joined by Italy, while Turkey and Bulgaria cast in their lot with the Teutonic forces. President Wilson urged upon the United States the strictest neutrality and held the nation to the principles laid down for neutral nations in Washington's Proclamation and now generally accepted as international law; but as in the Napoleonic wars a century before and in every other war, the interests of neutrals and belligerents clashed.

The outbreak of war in Europe.

In an attempt to isolate Germany, Great Britain blockaded the German ports on the North Sea, and in the course of the blockade she captured many American vessels and their cargoes, particularly in the enforcement of the doctrine of the continuous voyage, in accordance with which she seized all vessels the cargoes of which were probably destined for Germany, though billed to a neutral country neighboring to Germany, Holland, for example. The cotton interests of the Southern States suffered heavily, but Great Britain paid to them millions of dollars by way of damages.

The blockade of Germany.

In striking back at her foe on the sea the German navy relied mainly on the newly developed submarine. She declared the waters around Great Britain a war zone, in which her submarines would sink all vessels, whether enemy or neutral. Here she came into diplomatic collision with the United States, because the German Emperor asserted his right to torpedo a hostile merchant vessel without first exercising the arrest, visit, and search usually required by international law to determine the merchantman's identity, and without giving passengers and crew the opportunity to save their lives before the destruction of the vessel. The great Cunarder, the *Lusitania*, was suddenly sent to the bottom without so much as a moment's warning, and more than a thousand people on board, including over one hundred citizens of the United States, were drowned; and other great ships were sunk with serious loss of life.

The German submarine war.

Against Germany's assumption of the right to mark off a war zone on the ocean, President Wilson contended that no one nation had a right to warn other nations away from any particular area of the high seas, which were common to all. Germany at last so far met the demands of the United States as to consent to follow in her submarine warfare the ordinary rules of arrest, visit, and search, and to assure to the passengers and crews of merchant ships about to be destroyed an opportunity to escape. She also promised indemnity for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*. The demand for "disavowal" of this attack Germany did not meet.

The demands of the United States.

The Presidential election year of 1916 found the nation still engrossed in the issues arising out of the great war, but not yet a party to the struggle. The Democrats, under the leadership of President Wilson, entered the political contest, relying partly upon their record for constructive legislation but more especially upon their diplomatic avoidance of war. "He has kept us out of war" was blazoned on their posters. The Republicans, under ex-Governor and ex-Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes as candidate, favored a more vigorous defense of the nation's rights against the aggressions of the belligerents. The result was 277 electoral votes for Wilson and 254 for Hughes. The Socialists secured no electoral vote but polled a popular vote of 590,000.

By the purchase of the Danish West Indian Islands, consisting of the three considerable islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, together with about fifty other very small islands, all situated a little to the east of Porto Rico, the United States on March 31, 1917, consummated territorial acquisition that had been desired for half a century. Alaska had cost two cents per acre, the Philippines twenty-seven cents per acre, the Canal Zone \$35.83 per acre; but the new acquisition, now called the Virgin Islands, cost \$25,000,000 or \$295 per acre. The necessities of military and naval strategy justified the high price paid to Denmark.

On February 1, 1917, Germany embarked on a policy of "unrestricted submarine warfare," in accordance with which its submarines sent to the bottom "vessels of every kind — without warning and without thought to help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents." President Wilson at first recommended to Congress "armed neutrality," but this proved "impracticable" and, after an inspiring message from the President, Congress adopted his new recommendation and on April 6 recognized a state of war with Germany. American war vessels were at once sent to European waters to coöperate with the allied fleet in patrolling against German submarines. Before the end of 1917 over one hundred thousand American troops under General Pershing were in Europe and a million more were in training. Party spirit was laid aside and the country rallied to the support of the President as the nation's commander-in-chief in the crisis.

The stress of war brought about a great increase in the powers exercised by the federal government. The principle of the "selective draft" was substituted for that of voluntary enlistment in the army. German ships in American ports were seized for government service and the Shipping Board began the construction

of a great merchant marine. The supply of food and the manufacture of war materials were regulated and prices fixed. To raise the vast sums necessary for carrying on the war, Congress passed a tax bill which set a new record in the amount of revenue produced. In addition to this, approximately \$7,000,000,000 was raised by popular subscription in two great Liberty Loans.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What were the leading issues before the people in the presidential campaigns of 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1916? Why in some instances is a joint resolution of Congress preferable to a treaty, as a method of territorial annexation? Characterize and distinguish the new eras in national life associated with the presidential administrations of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and McKinley. Compare the working of British colonial administration before 1776 with the working of the colonial administration of the United States after 1898. Make a list of the important international arbitrations in which the United States was concerned, 1789-1915. What are the advantages of arbitration over war? Distinguish between the making of a treaty and arbitration. Make a list of the leading treaties of the United States, 1783-1915. Sketch the history of the Atlantic-Pacific canal project, 1846-1901. Give an estimate of the achievements of the United States in the tropics. Give a brief history of internal improvements in the United States. What have been the greatest achievements of Pan-Americanism since 1900? Why are the South American states suspicious of the Monroe Doctrine?

CHAPTER XXIX

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

PROSPERITY

THE panics of 1837, 1857, and 1873 had each been followed more or less closely by periods of prosperity, and the panic of 1893 was no exception to the rule. Both prices and wages were high and rapidly advancing in the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt down to 1907. In 1906 the mines of the country produced \$94,000,000 worth of gold as against \$46,000,000 in 1860, 25,000,000 tons of pig iron as against 820,000 tons in 1860, and 370,000,000 tons of coal as against 13,000,000 tons in 1860. The corn crop of 839,000,000 bushels in 1860 reached 2,900,000,000 in 1906, while in the same interval the wheat crop increased from 173,000,000 bushels to 735,000,000 bushels. The "billion dollar" country of the late eighties, as measured by the appropriations of Congress, was a "two billion dollar" country by the time Roosevelt left office.

The visitation of financial disaster which seems fated to recur at regular intervals of about twenty years, came again in 1907, which, like the years 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893, was a year of widespread financial ruin. The trouble began in the summer of that year with the failure of several large manufacturing establishments and banks in New York City in the last week of October. Commercial failures were numerous and widespread throughout the country, but the nation's prosperity rested on great natural resources and improvement soon set in.

In the last half century the unconquerable prosperity of the United States has received numerous demonstrations in the swift recovery of different cities and sections from terrible disasters that have befallen them. On October 8, 1871, the city of Chicago was visited by a conflagration which burned more than two thousand acres of city blocks before it was checked. Eighteen thousand buildings, including a large part of the business section of the city, were reduced to ashes, two hundred million dollars' worth of property was destroyed, two hundred and fifty lives were lost, and one hundred thousand people were rendered home-

Swift
recovery of
stricken
cities.
Chicago and
Boston.

less. The city, the motto of which was, "I will," rose from the ruins greater and better, until to-day Chicago ranks next after New York as the most populous, the wealthiest, and the most influential city in the country. The next year a disastrous fire destroyed sixty-five acres of buildings in the wholesale district of Boston, inflicting a loss which reached eighty millions of dollars.

In 1886 Charleston, South Carolina, was visited by a destructive earthquake. In 1889 Johnstown, Pennsylvania, was wiped out by a flood, in which two hundred lives were lost and property destroyed to the value of \$10,000,000. In 1900 a tidal wave destroyed a large part of Galveston, Texas. In 1904 much of the business section of Baltimore, Maryland, was burned and more than \$50,000,000 worth of property destroyed. Yet all these afflicted sections repaired the ravages in a short time and entered upon new prosperity. In 1906 in San Francisco, California, from \$350,000,000 to \$500,000,000 worth of property was destroyed by earthquake and fire together. Three-fourths of the city was ruined and 300,000 people rendered homeless; but within three years the city was practically rebuilt, and in 1915 received hundreds of thousands of visitors at a world's fair, held to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal.

An unfailing sign of good times was the arrival in the United States in 1905 of over 1,000,000 immigrants, who invariably come to the country in large numbers in times of prosperity, and in smaller numbers during adversity. The number of immigrants did not reach 100,000 in any year till 1842; on the wave of the country's prosperity it mounted to 400,000 in 1854, with the panic of 1857 and the Civil War fell as low as 89,000, then rose again to 460,000 in 1873. Financial depression brought the number down to 138,000 in 1878, good times raised it to 800,000 by 1882, the next financial panic reduced it to 230,000 in 1898, after which it rapidly increased. The 1,000,000 mark was reached in 1905, 1906, and 1907, and again in 1910 and 1913. In these later days it is the southern instead of the northern countries of Europe as in the middle of the nineteenth century, that are the chief sources of immigration.

In 1900 there were over 10,000,000 foreign born in the United States, or thirteen per cent of the total population. Basing its figures on the reports of the census bureau, the *National Geographic Magazine* states that there are now in the United States 13,000,000 foreign born, which, including 18,000,000 born in this country, one or both of whose parents were born abroad, brings up to 31,000,000 the number of those in the United States whose parentage is foreign. One-third of the people of the country are

foreign or have parents who were born abroad. The city with the largest percentage of foreign born is Fall River, Massachusetts, with 42.7 per cent; Lowell, Massachusetts, is second with 40.9 per cent, New York third with 40.8 per cent or 1,944,357, Boston, fourth, Paterson, New Jersey, fifth, Chicago sixth, and Bridgeport, Connecticut, seventh.

When the immigrants arrive their standing under the law is that of aliens. The majority of them, however, seek naturalization and

Aliens and
naturalized
citizens.

become full American citizens. When they have taken out their first papers they are liable to military service for the

United States in time of war; in general all aliens enjoy the right of protection in person and property against mobs and insurrection, and they may bring suit in the federal and state courts like ordinary citizens; in most states they enjoy the right to hold land, though in some states this is denied. The right to vote, which is a matter determined by state and not by federal law, is in most states given to immigrants only after they become citizens of the United States, though a few states allow aliens to vote if they have declared their intention of becoming citizens in accordance with the terms of the national law on the subject. While the right to vote is bestowed by state law, naturalization, or the granting of full citizenship, is regulated by national law. The requirement of a residence of five years in the country by a foreigner before naturalization has not been changed since the days of President Jefferson. Naturalization papers are to be secured in the district and circuit courts of the United States and in certain state and territorial courts. Only "white persons" and persons of "African descent" may be naturalized; those of other races, and alien enemies, polygamists, and disbelievers in organized government are excluded. The applicant for citizenship must have "behaved as a person of good moral character" and must be "attached to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same." All applicants must be able to read and write the English language. No naturalized citizen may be either President or Vice President, but in other respects the natural-born and the naturalized citizens are on a basis of civil and political equality.



PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1910.
TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN, 13,515,886

That immigrants contribute their part to the development of the country is evident in this industrial age as well as in the days of frontier building and of war; and they also share in her wonderful prosperity. A few examples may be enumerated of men who have arrived in the country without means and have succeeded in personifying in their individual experiences the marvelous progress of the nation from hardship and struggle to affluence. Andrew Carnegie, who has amassed hundreds of millions in the steel industry, came to America as a poor boy from Scotland. Patrick Cudahy, head of a large meat packing establishment, James McCutcheon, James McCreery, Hugh O'Neil, and Alexander T. Stewart, prominent merchants of New York, were poor immigrants from Ireland; Frederick Weyerheuser and Herman Sielcken, lumber and coffee merchants respectively, were poor immigrant boys from Germany; Henry T. Oxnard, head of the beet sugar industry, came from France, and Joseph Di Gorgio, head of the banana industry, and Simone Saitta, prominent in the lemon industry, from Italy, all without money but with the will to succeed. The new citizens have also achieved success in other than commercial lines. Knute Nelson, United States Senator from Minnesota, was born in Norway, Jacob A. Riis, writer and reformer, in Denmark, Michael Pupin, whose electrical experiments have contributed greatly to the success of the telegraph and the telephone, in Servia, Dr. A. A. Michelson, winner of the Nobel Prize for scientific work, in Germany, Samuel A. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in England, and Patrick Collins, ex-Mayor of Boston, in Ireland.

The contributions of immigrants to the industrial life of the nation.

The reconstructed Southern States, after the first years of struggle with poverty and readjustment to new industrial conditions, have won for themselves a share in the prevailing prosperity. In these states, including West Virginia, from 1880 to 1910 population increased from 13,000,000 to 23,000,000, the capital invested in manufacturing from \$147,000,000 in 1880 to \$1,000,000,000 in 1900, the cotton crop from 5,700,000 bales in 1880 to 15,000,000 bales in 1911, and the amount of cotton consumed in the Southern mills from 320,000 bales in 1880 to 2,300,000 bales in 1910. In the face of this marvelous record Southerners themselves are generally agreed that the destruction of slavery was in the end conducive to prosperity. The Civil War not only emancipated the blacks but also gave a chance to the poor whites, from whose ranks come many of the leaders of the "New South." In a typical manufacturing center of the South, Birmingham, Alabama, the increase in population, 1900-1910, was from 38,000 to 132,000, or two hundred and forty-

The progress of the "New South."

five per cent. Nashville, Tennessee, numbered 110,000 in 1910, New Orleans 340,000.

The negro situation in the South has worked out differently from what was expected when Congress provided for the welfare of the blacks by constitutional amendment. Twenty-five years after the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South in 1877, which date has been accepted as marking the end of Reconstruction, political conditions had become such as would have aroused consternation in the North in the days immediately after the war, for the ex-slaves had practically lost the ballot. On this point the Constitution of the United States has been effectively nullified by the laws of the Southern States themselves, and it is a phenomenon of interest that few white people either in the North or in the South offer serious objection. In 1877 it seemed that everything possible had been done to safeguard the negroes' lately acquired right of suffrage. In their favor was the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, declaring, "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Practically the same provision was in the new constitutions of the Southern States, and Congress passed various laws to secure the same right. Yet one thing was lacking to render negro suffrage a success, and that was the cordial assent and sympathy of the white people of the Southern States. The spirit of the Ku Klux Klan, if not the society itself, survived, and within ten years after the troops of the United States had disappeared from their midst the Southerners began to register their opposition by formal changes in their state constitutions. Very rigid tax, property, and educational qualifications for the suffrage were imposed, forbidding the vote to all unable to meet the qualifications; at the same time, in order not to bar out the whites by these restrictions, exceptions were made in some states in favor of all who had grandfathers able to vote before the adoption of the fourteenth amendment or some other date immediately after the close of the Civil War, while in other states the rigor of the law was informally lightened by the registration and election officials, who purposely asked difficult questions of the ignorant blacks seeking to qualify for the vote under the law and easy questions of the ignorant whites. The Australian ballot system, too, has served as an additional barrier against the ignorant black vote. The "grandfather clause" of Maryland and of Oklahoma was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1915.

Meanwhile industrial education has been hailed as a far more

effective solution of the negro problem than the suffrage. Already much has been accomplished along this line in the Tuskegee, Hampton, and other Southern schools for the blacks. At the present time over fifty per cent of the negroes of the United States can read and write.

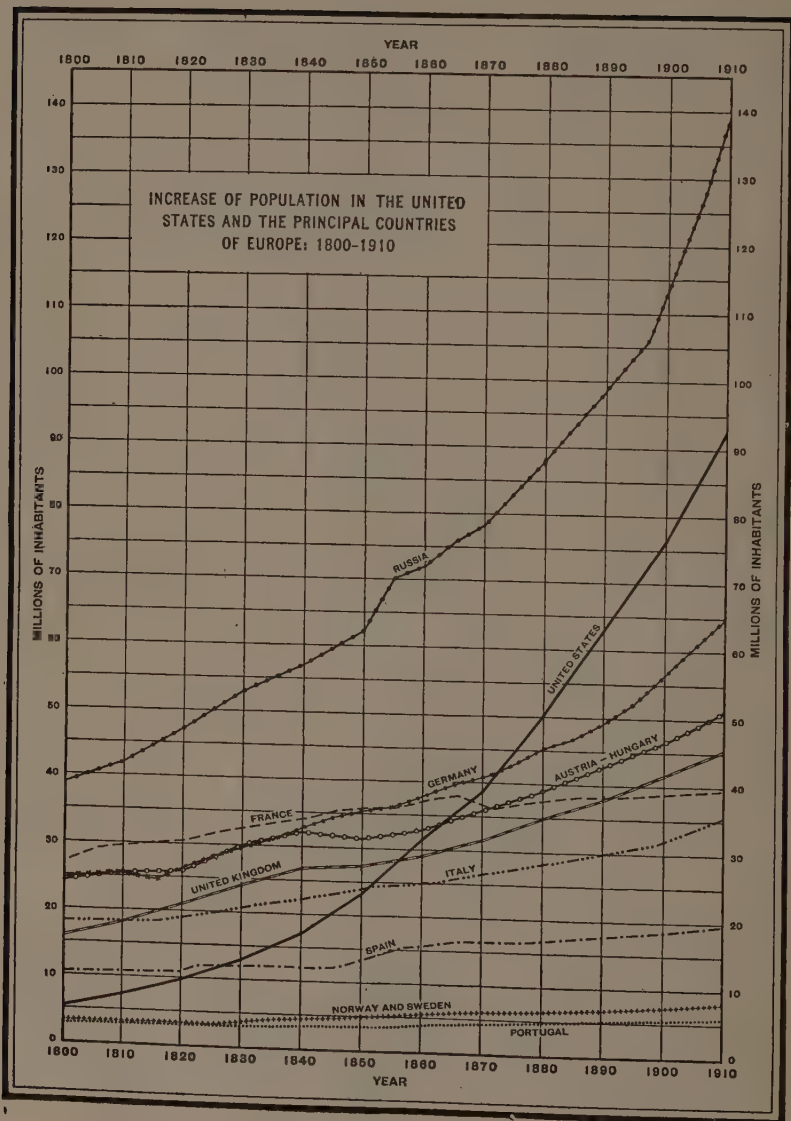
**Industrial
education
for the
negroes.**

The West is no longer merely a land of ranches, farms, and mines. It contains great cities. The older cities of the middle West — Chicago with a population of 2,185,000 in 1910, St. Louis with 687,000, Minneapolis with 301,000, St. Paul with 214,000, and Denver with 213,000 — have made rapid advances. The progress of the cities of the Pacific coast presents an astonishing record. According to the bureau of the census, three cities of California — San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland — together numbered in 1910 almost 1,000,000; three cities of Washington — Seattle with 300,000, Spokane with 100,000, and Tacoma with 100,000 — had a total of nearly 500,000. Portland, Oregon, had a population of over 200,000. The per cent of increase in population, 1900-1910, was well above one hundred per cent in all these Pacific cities except one, and in one, Los Angeles, it was over two hundred per cent. Although California and Oregon as states of the Union are scarcely fifty years old, and although Washington is still younger, the three states together have nine cities above the one hundred thousand mark. The growth of these centers of population portends the large part which the Pacific coast is destined to play in the commercial and economic life of the nation.

**The growth
of the
western
cities.**

The census of 1910 showed not only extraordinary progress in the southern and western cities, but also in the more eastern cities and in the nation as a whole. Toledo, Buffalo, Detroit, and Cleveland, centers of the new automobile industry and of the ever-growing Lake trade, increased respectively, 1900-1910, from 130,000 to 168,000, from 350,000 to 420,000, from 285,000 to 465,000, and from 380,000 to 560,000, while Cincinnati and Pittsburg, on the Ohio River, reached in 1910, the one 360,000 and the other 530,000. Thus the Lake cities, including Chicago, whose boom did not come till after the completion of the Erie Canal, have made rapid strides in overtaking their old rivals on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Baltimore, which made a swift recovery from the conflagration of 1904, numbered 560,000 in 1910, Philadelphia, 1,550,000, Boston 670,000, and Greater New York, 4,765,000. The country as a whole, which had 3,900,000 inhabitants in 1790, 5,000,000 in 1800, and 31,000,000 in 1860, possessed a population of 91,000,000 in 1910. The rate of increase is enormous, though it is somewhat below that of the colonial

**The census
of 1910.**



period from 1700 to 1760, which has been estimated to have been almost one hundred per cent every twenty years.

Industrial prosperity has been a great stimulus to invention. Whereas approximately one million patents have been issued by the national government since 1789, more than one-third of these were issued after the year 1900. For the seven years after 1907, 35,000 patents have been issued annually. The use of X rays, automobiles, and submarine boats was common by the beginning of the twentieth century. The heavier than air aeroplane, which thus far has been of more service in war than in peace, was perfected by the Wright brothers of Dayton, Ohio, in 1903. Wireless telegraphy, which now encircles the earth, enabling men to communicate with each other over great distances, and endowing ships with the means of exchanging messages with one another and with the land, was invented by the Italian scientist, Marconi, in 1901. An ocean cable was completed across the Pacific to the Philippines in 1903, while the human voice is now heard over the telephone from New York to San Francisco.

In the field of education the nation's expanse has been commensurate with its growth in other lines. Colleges both for men and for women have been endowed with sums which a half century ago would have been considered fabulous. Universities have been enabled to encourage research, the state universities of the West have made themselves great forces in the educational world, agricultural schools and other institutions for technical training have multiplied, and in the elementary schools vocational instruction has received emphasis. Literature can boast of such names as William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, Henry James, and Francis Marion Crawford among writers of fiction; Sidney Lanier, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, and Walt Whitman among poets; Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) the humorist, and Henry Adams, James Ford Rhodes, Edward Channing, John Fiske, and John Bach McMaster, historians.

From 1860 to 1913 the total imports of the United States had increased from \$350,000,000 to \$1,800,000,000, the total exports from \$315,000,000, to \$2,425,000,000, an increase in imports and exports of over five hundred per cent. By far the most valuable single article sold abroad is cotton, exports of which in 1913 were worth \$550,000,000. One-third only of the cotton crop is consumed at home. The increase in the value of the exports of manufactured goods ready for consumption, which was almost two thousand per cent from 1860 to 1913, is a testimony to the nation's progress in

New
Inventions.

Education
and
Literature.

Foreign
trade.

manufacturing. In 1860 manufactured goods ready for consumption made up one-ninth of the total exports of the country, in 1915 one-third.

The United States has not only surpassed its own past record, but has outstripped all the other nations of the earth in material progress,

and is now recognized as the world's wealthiest nation. Her accumulated wealth of over \$150,000,000,000 in 1914 was more than double that of France and nearly double that of Great Britain or Germany. A distin-

guished British authority wrote in the *Statist* of London, commenting on the rapid economic progress throughout the world in the nineteenth century: "But if the economic welfare of the oldest countries has improved in this remarkable manner, the progress of the new countries is still more noteworthy. For the most part, the persons who migrated to them were inconceivably poor and destitute, and these have attained incomes and wealth much greater on the average than persons who elected to remain in the older countries. During the last one hundred years the wealth of the United States has increased from about \$1,750,000,000 to something like \$150,000,000,000, or nearly 8,500 per cent, and the income has risen from less than \$500,000,000 to about \$35,000,000,000 a year (6,900 per cent), while population has grown from 8,000,000 to 98,000,000, an expansion of 1,125 per cent. The progress of the other young countries has been small in comparison with the growth of wealth in the United States.

. . . No group of countries has derived greater advantage from the credit system than the various agricultural states of the new world, which have obtained vast supplies of capital from Europe. It is evident that the young countries would have developed very slowly if they had been unable to borrow the capital needed by immigrants to place them on the land and in the mines, and thus to gain access to the inexhaustible supplies of natural wealth which these countries contain. The amount of capital obtained by the United States from abroad is calculated to reach \$6,000,000,000." Foreign capital, therefore, as well as wonderful natural resources and immigration, may be reckoned among the leading factors in the progress of the United States.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, AND TRUST REGULATION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Capital took advantage of the prosperity after 1900 to perfect its organization into larger and larger units. The growth of corporations, first noticeable in the time of the Civil War, reached its height during Roosevelt's presidency. In 1899 there were approximately sixty corporations having a capital of from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000 each,

but in the two years, 1899-1901, under the leadership of J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, and other "captains of industry," almost two hundred giant trusts were formed, the combined capital of which reached \$4,000,000,000. In 1901 a single corporation, the United States Steel Corporation, was formed which at the present time has a capital of approximately \$1,400,000,000. By January 1, 1908, the total capitalization of all corporations was \$31,000,000,000, which represented an advance of fifty per cent in four years. The Amalgamated Copper Company, the General Electric Company, the International Harvester Company, the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, and a score or more of railroads each possess a capital of over \$100,000,000, and many other companies are capitalized at \$50,000,000 or over.

The growth of corporate organization of industry.

The railroads furnish a striking instance of the centralizing tendencies in the industrial world. At the opening of the twentieth century there were the Vanderbilt system of 20,000 miles of road from New York to Wyoming, covering the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley, the Pennsylvania system from Philadelphia to Chicago controlling 14,000 miles, the Morgan system from New York to New Orleans with 12,000 miles, the Morgan-Hill system of 20,000 miles from Chicago and St. Louis to the Pacific, the Harriman system of 19,000 miles from Chicago to the Gulf and San Francisco, the Gould system of 14,000 miles from the Middle West to the Gulf, and minor combinations as well, till almost every small railroad was engulfed in some large system.

Railroad centralization.

An authority on the subject of the trusts wrote in 1904: "They are all allied and intertwined by their various mutual interests. For instance, the railroad interests are on the one hand allied with the Vanderbilts and on the other with the Rockefellers. The Vanderbilts are closely allied with the Morgan group, and both the Pennsylvania and the Vanderbilt interests have recently become the dominating factors in the Reading system, a former Morgan road and the most important part of the anthracite coal combine, which has always been dominated by the Morgan people. Viewed as a whole, we find the dominating influences in the trusts to be made up of an intricate network of large and small capitalists, many allied to one another by ties of more or less importance, but all being appendages to or parts of the greater groups which are themselves dependent on and allied with the two mammoth, or Rockefeller and Morgan, groups. These two mammoth groups jointly constitute the heart of the business and commercial life of the nation."

The trust situation.

The Pujo report, submitted to the House of Representatives in 1913, declared that the firm members and directors of five banking houses in New York City held 118 directorships in 34 banks and trust companies having total resources of \$2,679,000,000 and total deposits of \$1,983,000,000. Counting the banks, trust companies, insurance companies, transportation systems, manufacturing and trading concerns, and the public service corporations, with which they were connected, the money trust, as this handful of men came to be called, held 341 directorships in 112 corporations having aggregate resources or capitalization of \$22,245,000,000.

A great achievement of the Roosevelt administration was to bring to a head the popular unrest in national affairs, and to institute reform, through the executive and legislative branches of the government, of many of the abuses complained of by the people, chief among which was the oppression of combined capital. President Roosevelt's crusade against the trusts was based on the obvious fact that, under the new industrial régime as then developed, the advantage was on one side, with more benefits falling to the owners of the giant corporations than to the army of laborers. Greater power of supervision over business enterprises and their actions was assumed by the government. The Meat Inspection Act provided that no meat should be sent out from meat packing houses into other states or to foreign countries without federal inspection. The Pure Food Law closed interstate and foreign commerce to adulterated or misbranded foods and drugs, and forbade their manufacture in the District of Columbia and the territories. The Hepburn Rate Law was passed in 1906, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission greater power in the regulation of railroad rates and authority to dictate how the roads should keep their books.

In his public utterances President Roosevelt drew a distinction between the good and the bad trusts; he placed among the latter those that reaped huge benefits "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states" and in the former category those that did not attempt complete monopolies and unreasonable increase of prices "in restraint of trade."

Against the bad trusts he instituted over forty suits at law under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which till then had gone practically unenforced. One of these suits, directed against the merger or union of the Northern Pacific Railroad and the Great Northern Railroad on the ground that such a merger was "in restraint of trade among the several states," resulted in the dissolution of the combination, and exercised much influence in preventing other such unions. In another suit,

directed against the Standard Oil Company, for its alleged unfair custom of demanding from the railroads, as a condition of its continued patronage, rebates or the return in part of the freight charges previously paid to the railroad company for services rendered, a fine of \$29,000,000 was imposed on the company for its "restraint of trade." The decision was later reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the fine was never paid.



A MODERN MEAT-PACKING PLANT

The Chicago Plant of Armour and Company; the largest in the world.

In 1910 Congress passed the Mann-Elkins Act, which brought interstate telephone, telegraph, and cable companies under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Perhaps the most far-reaching part of the act was that which conferred on the Commission the authority to suspend proposed advances in railroad rates, pending an investigation of their propriety, thus placing an effective check on the great railroad companies. As an immediate application of this new power, the Commission, after an investigation of the expenses of railroad management, forbade the railroads to advance their rates; but in 1914, after another investigation, it allowed an advance. In 1915 it ordered reductions in the rates of the coal-bearing roads of Pennsylvania. Interstate

Trust regulation under Taft.

express companies, electric railways, sleeping car companies, and pipe line and water line carriers have also been placed under the supervision of the Commission.

President Taft, like his predecessor, waged unremitting warfare on the trusts, so far as was within the power of his executive office. No

**Enforcement
of the Sher-
man Anti-
Trust Act
under Taft.**

other administration had brought so many suits against "big business" as were instituted from 1909 to 1913. An important case against the tobacco trust and another against the Standard Oil Company were won by the government, and an order was secured from the court in

each case breaking up the corporations in question, though the dissolution accomplished little. The Supreme Court in Taft's time also handed down a decision dissolving the union of the Union Pacific Railroad with the Southern Pacific, and another holding that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law forbade "corners" in the market.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was first interpreted as prohibiting all interstate combinations in restraint of trade, whether these were

**Trust regu-
lation under
Wilson.
1. The
Watch
Trust case.**

reasonable or unreasonable; but in the oil and tobacco cases the court established the ruling that only those corporations violated the law which "unduly" restrained trade. Again, in 1915, in the Watch Trust case, the court further applied the rule of reason by asserting that a

corporation that controlled even as high as eighty per cent of the trade in a particular commodity was not necessarily breaking the law. Said the court, "It is reasonable to say that when a large business has proved itself to be beneficial and not harmful to the community, it should not be condemned because it is large."

Later, in the year 1915, the national tribunal refused the petition of the United States government for the dissolution of the United

**2. The
United
States Steel
Corporation.**

States Steel Corporation, although this trust was capitalized at \$1,402,846,000 and controlled over one hundred and eighty companies. Said the court, "The real test of monopoly is not the size of that which is acquired but

the trade power of that which is not acquired. . . . If mere size were the test of monopoly and trade restraint, we have not one but a half dozen unlawful monopolies in the large department stores of a single city." Plainly the court is now more conservative than formerly in its attitude toward the trusts, and is not inexorably set against big business as such.

In 1902 the labor unions found themselves confronted by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, when they attempted to compel a firm of hat manufacturers in Danbury, Connecticut, to recognize the power

of the union. The firm were running their factory on a non-union basis, employing whomsoever they chose. A boycott declared against the firm and their goods by the United Hatters of North America seriously affected the firm's business in other states as well as in Connecticut. Thereupon the factory brought suit against the two hundred and forty members of the local hatters' union on the ground that the boycott, in restraining interstate trade, was in violation of the anti-trust law. The case was in the courts for twelve years. In 1913 the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the hatters and awarded the injured factory \$252,000, and in 1915 the Supreme Court upheld the decision. The position of the court was that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law applied to combinations of laborers in restraint of interstate trade, as well as to combinations of capitalists.

3. The labor unions and the Sherman Act.

The vagueness of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which did not specifically designate any particular acts as constituting restraint of trade, threw upon the courts the task of interpreting and applying the law in concrete cases. As soon as the courts began to exercise their immense power under the law they achieved a reputation for arbitrariness and drew upon themselves bitter criticism. In an effort to meet this situation the Clayton Anti-Trust Law was passed in 1914 to supplement the Sherman Act by specifying particular acts as constituting restraint of trade. In the first place, though the phraseology of the new law is itself vague on the point, labor unions are declared not to be "illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws," so that, if the law could have been retroactive, the Danbury hatters would probably not have lost their case. Price discriminations are forbidden, as also are "tying contracts," by which the manufacturer sells an article with the restriction that the purchaser shall not use articles made by a competitor. The ban is likewise placed on holding companies, on interlocking directorates under certain conditions, and on injunctions by the courts restraining people from quitting work.

4. The Clayton Anti-Trust Law of 1914.

The first regular session of Congress under President Wilson abolished the Bureau of Corporations set up under President Roosevelt in 1903 and gave over its functions and some new duties to a new Trade Commission. This commission is directed to prevent persons, partnerships, and corporations, except banks and common carriers, from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. It will receive reports from all corporations with a capitalization of \$5,000,000 or more not under the Interstate Com-

5. The Trade Commission Act of 1914.

merce Commission. It will investigate corporate activities, make public reports, hold hearings if there is reason to believe that unfair methods are being used, and issue orders if the parties are found guilty. The Commission may also assist the courts in dissolving illegal combinations under the Sherman law.

THE PROGRESS OF LABOR

The menacing growth of the trusts has not bred as great violence among the laboring classes as might be expected. The great prosperity, which has been the lot of the country as a whole, is a partial explanation of the phenomenon. Agricultural and industrial unrest after 1900 has not permeated national politics as in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Not that labor has meekly yielded; it has waged many a bitter strike, but with increasingly favorable results. Organization of the forces of labor has confronted the organization of capital and has frequently won the day.

In 1902 occurred one of these mighty combats between capital and labor that affected all sections and classes of the country. Nearly one hundred and fifty thousand hard coal miners of Pennsylvania left their work and wages under the leadership of John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, to battle against their numerous grievances, chief among which were low wages and long hours.

Their proposal of arbitration was spurned by the mine owners, and for six months the whole country suffered from a shortage of coal. President Roosevelt felt constrained for the sake of the public to offer his services to bring about a settlement of the difficulty, and he succeeded in inducing representatives of both sides to come together in his presence in the White House and pledge themselves to accept the findings of a board of ar-



JOHN MITCHELL

bitration which he himself was to appoint. The findings of the board, generally in favor of the strikers, finally brought the strike to an end. The cost of the strike to all parties directly concerned was estimated at \$100,000,000, while the indirect results to the country at large, as measured in the high price of coal and the losses occasioned by the inability of many individuals and manufacturing concerns to secure any coal at all, cannot be estimated.

A bitter strike the next year in the Cripple Creek coal mines of Colorado attracted wide attention both on account of the many acts of violence on the part of the strikers and the stern methods used by the militia to restore order. Strikes of the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile workers in 1912, and of the Paterson, New Jersey, silk operatives in 1913 disturbed the nation. The Colorado coal strike in 1914-1915, characterized by particularly violent action on the part of both strikers and state authorities, demonstrated that both capital and labor still had serious difficulties to adjust.

An important step toward the prevention and settlement of strikes was taken in 1913, when Congress by a unanimous vote passed an arbitration act for railroads and their employees. This applies to strikes of men actually employed in moving trains in interstate commerce. Under it there was appointed by the President a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which has succeeded in settling some strikes by its own mediation, while in others, under its supervision, a board of arbitrators has been appointed and required to make its report in ninety days. The first case handled by the board prevented a strike in 1913 by the 92,000 conductors and trainmen of the forty-two eastern railroads; a year later the board brought together ninety-eight trans-Mississippi railroads and their 60,000 dissatisfied engineers and firemen. In this latter case a strike was prevented, which in the crisis of the opening months of the European war would have been a calamity of incalculable magnitude. Over twenty-six railroad controversies have been settled by the board. A division of conciliation in the Department of Labor at Washington has prevented a number of strikes in various lines of industry.

Later
strikes.

The Railroad
Employees
Arbitration
Act under
Wilson.

THE TARIFF

6.

In the Roosevelt administration, after the panic of 1907, in addition to the distress caused by the panic, there was keen discomfort occasioned by the continued rapid rise in prices. While wages or salaries remained the same or advanced but slightly, prices for the necessities of life and especially for manufactured products were mounting higher and higher. It was becoming increasingly difficult for the

people to make both ends meet. While the increase in the supply of gold was doubtless the leading cause of this phenomenon, the favors bestowed by the tariff on the great trusts seemed to the popular mind a grievous cause. These could be reached through politics, and accordingly a demand arose for the revision and reduction of the tariff. This demand was incorporated in the platform of the Republican party in 1908, and the people looked to the newly elected administration for relief.

The demand for a revision of the tariff after the panic of 1907

Congress met at the special call of President Taft in the spring of 1909, struggled for five months over the problem, and finally passed the Payne-Aldrich Law. A feature of the law which appealed to the people was the corporation tax, which was a tax of one per cent on the income of all corporations the yearly net earnings of which were above \$5000. As a tariff measure the new law failed to satisfy the demands for downward revision, since many of the new rates were higher than the old ones. In the Republican party itself a constantly growing element, known as the Insurgent Republicans, were extremely dissatisfied with the new law and with the alleged conservative tendencies of the administration. The following campaign of 1910 for the election of members to the House of Representatives was fought out on the vexed question, and so great was the dissatisfaction over the Payne-Aldrich Law that the Democrats, who stood for a lowering of the tariff rates, received a heavy majority in the new House over the Regular Republicans, who defended the Payne-Aldrich rates. In the next two years the Democrats used their power in Congress to pass several special tariff bills lowering the rates on single articles, such as woolen goods, cotton goods, steel, and iron, each of which measures encountered the veto of the President, who championed the rates of 1909. In framing these laws Congress had the benefit of the report of the Tariff Commission, which had been appointed by the President, with the sanction of Congress, to ascertain, if possible, by an investigation of the cost of manufacture at home and abroad, what would be just rates of tariff on imported articles.

To conciliate the friends of a low tariff, President Taft sought to put into operation a treaty of reciprocity with Canada. This was not a new idea. There had been reciprocity, or mutual free trade, with Canada, in certain articles in the late fifties and early sixties of the nineteenth century; at the suggestion of Secretary Blaine there was reciprocity with certain southern countries in the McKinley Tariff Act, and the same plan was embodied in the Dingley Act. The approval of Canadian reciprocity by Congress in 1912 was considered a triumph for the administration, but the desired

Reciprocity.

arrangement never went into effect because the Dominion of Canada, through fear that reciprocity would mean the economic dependence of Canada upon the United States, refused its assent.

Like President Taft, President Wilson called Congress together in special session soon after his inauguration to consider the tariff, and after another long struggle a downward revision was accomplished by the Underwood Tariff Act. The free The tariff under Wilson. list was greatly extended. An important change wrought by the law was the levying of a progressive tax on incomes. Since the court in Cleveland's time had declared such a tax unconstitutional, President Taft had paved the way for the passage of the measure by forcing through Congress and submitting to the people a constitutional amendment making such taxation allowable, and this amendment was embodied in the Constitution early in 1913. A tax of one per cent was levied on all incomes over \$3000; for married couples living together the amount exempt was \$4000. An additional tax of one per cent was levied on all incomes over \$20,000 and not exceeding \$50,000; two per cent on all over \$50,000 and not exceeding \$75,000; three per cent on all over \$75,000 and not exceeding \$100,000; four per cent on all over \$100,000 and not exceeding \$250,000; five per cent on all over \$250,000 and not exceeding \$500,000; and six per cent on all over \$500,000. The salary of the present President of the United States, 1913-1917, of all judges of United States courts then in office, and of all state and municipal officers, was to be exempt. The new tax, along with the corporation tax, which was carried over from the Payne-Aldrich law into the new act, constitutes an important attack on the high tariff wall, for, if successful, it will reveal a new source of national revenue, to be borne by those who are best able to contribute to the support of the government, and it will make the demand for revenue from the tariff less urgent. Moreover, since the income tax is a direct tax, which the people realize they are paying into the treasury of the government, it may be expected that Congress will be held to stricter accountability and to a wiser and more economical use of public money.

NATIONAL BANKING LAWS

The National Banking Act of 1863 never fully satisfied the financial needs of the country. In a time of financial stringency, when men hoard their money and bankers and individuals are slow to make loans, it is desirable that the national banks have the power of issuing new paper money quickly. This they could not do under the old law, by the provisions of which notes could be issued only on the basis of a deposit of United States

The National Banking Act of 1914.

bonds in the treasury of the United States; it was difficult and sometimes impossible to obtain these bonds in an emergency. The Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908 aimed to remedy this defect by allowing the national banks to issue notes upon a deposit of state, county, or municipal bonds, and under certain circumstances upon security of the notes of sound private parties. The plan did not work out in practice, and the special session of Congress called by President Wilson in 1913 considered the question again, while it was at the same time putting the Underwood Tariff Law on the statute books. In December, 1913, the Federal Reserve Act was passed. Under this law the United States is divided into twelve districts, in each of which is located a Federal reserve bank, which is not a bank for ordinary depositors but rather a bank for banks. In this reserve bank the individual bank must make a deposit of a certain proportion of its reserve, if it would be a member of the system and share in its benefits. If the member bank desires to increase the amount of its circulating notes, it can do so immediately by selling to its reserve bank "commercial paper," that is, the notes of individuals it may be holding, and receiving in return from the reserve bank "reserve notes" to circulate as money. Such an emergency currency is elastic and quickly issued. A private individual can neither borrow from a reserve bank nor make deposits in it, but the United States may deposit its revenue, if it wishes, in the reserve banks and draw checks upon them.

THE POST OFFICE

Down to 1900 three important changes had been made in the post office since the Civil War: the penny postal card was introduced in 1873, the rate of letter postage was reduced in 1883 from three to two cents for half an ounce, and in 1885 for an ounce, and rural free delivery was inaugurated in 1897. In the four years of President Taft's administration two more innovations were inaugurated. First, postal savings banks were opened in the post offices of the cities and the larger towns for the accommodation of those who wished a place of deposit for their money, in which they would feel more confidence than in the ordinary deposit banks and savings banks, though the rate of interest paid by the government on deposits was low. Second, on January 1, 1913, the post office began the operation of a parcel post or express business for the transmission of small packages at rates generally far below those charged by the express companies. The government fixes the charges for its services by the zone system, in accordance with which the amount charged increases as the distance increases.

CONSERVATION

With his insight into the history and conditions of the West, derived from a sojourn of several years in that section, President Roosevelt directed public attention to the nation's wasteful use of its forest and mineral lands. Formerly, under the generous policy of the government, these had either been given to private corporations or sold at very low rates. Though under such a system the country was rapidly developed, the feeling slowly arose that the system, advantageous though it might be in a frontier country, was too lavish and too wasteful. Presidents before Roosevelt had had the power and had exercised it, to withdraw the timber lands on the public domain from sale, in order to preserve them from immediate and wasteful consumption; but Roosevelt took advantage of the prerogative to a greater extent than had any of his predecessors. There are to-day over one hundred and fifty forests in the United States reserved by the government, with an area exceeding 162,000,000 acres; of this, Roosevelt is responsible for the reservation of 150,000,000 acres. The Appalachian Forest Reserve Law of 1911 provided funds for the purchase by the United States "of land for national forests on the watersheds of national streams." This will enable the national government to acquire forests in the Eastern States, and thus to inaugurate there as well as in the West, a system of national forest conservation. Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Washington have large state forest reserves. For preserving the soil and for preventing sudden floods, as well as for perpetuating the rapidly diminishing lumber supply, forest conservation, as now administered by the forest service of the Department of Agriculture, is of immense national importance.

Conservation
under
Roosevelt.
The forests.

By an act of 1910 and by previous acts the President may also withdraw from sale the mineral lands of the public domain; the law even separates the surface of coal lands fit for agriculture from the mineral beneath the surface, and allows the separate disposal of each. Many thousands of acres of mineral lands have now been withdrawn from sale by the nation, and also by a few of the states. The opponents of such a policy claim that progress is blocked by holding the public lands in reserve, and that these lands would be more rapidly developed in the hands of individuals.

Mineral
lands.

The Reclamation Act of 1902, known also as the Newlands Act, set aside the proceeds of the sale of the public lands in sixteen western states as a special fund with which to irrigate arid lands in these states, while the irrigated lands themselves were to be sold at low rates and the proceeds devoted to further reclamation.

Arid lands.

Twenty-eight irrigation projects were completed in eight years at a cost of \$70,000,000, and nearly two million acres of waste lands thereby brought under cultivation. Some of the western states have gone into the same work, for example, Idaho, which has constructed one of the largest irrigation canals in the world and reclaimed over 300,000 acres of waste land. Utah also is engaged in extensive undertakings along the same lines.

The general policy of conservation of natural resources embraces also the water power of rivers and streams. This great power of nature, man's servant from the earliest days, was found to be especially valuable for the production of electricity, which can easily be transmitted for use fifty to one hundred miles away. Under President Roosevelt Congress abandoned its former policy of granting perpetual water power sites recklessly, and now such sites are carefully granted for a term of years and at a specified rental.

So firmly convinced was President Roosevelt of the wisdom of united action in conserving national resources that he called together at the White House, in 1908, a meeting of the governors of all the states and a few other prominent men, whose advice would be valuable, to exchange views on the subject and secure the coöperation of the states with the national government in the work. Since that time the governors have met in regular annual session to discuss matters in regard to which uniform action by the states is desirable. The "House of Governors" possesses no legislative or other powers, but as an advisory body it has a wide influence. Among the subjects discussed in these meetings, in addition to the preservation of the forests, streams, and mineral lands, are such matters as uniformity in marriage and divorce laws, and laws on bills and notes, the improvement of factory conditions, and the prevention of child labor.

The Taft administration incurred disfavor in some quarters on account of its attitude toward the conservation measures adopted in the previous administration. Led by Gifford Pinchot, at that time head of the forestry bureau, a loud remonstrance arose when it became known that the President proposed to allow the sale to private individuals of certain immensely valuable coal-bearing lands in Alaska, which would result, it was charged, in the creation of a monopoly in the mining of coal in the territory. Secretary Ballinger of the Interior Department, who had the matter in charge, was accused of negligence. After a long and sensational congressional investigation of the whole matter he was allowed by the President to resign.

By the admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union during Taft's term of office, the last portion of territory, except Alaska, within the continental limits of the United States entered the sisterhood of states. A federal government, which in one hundred and twenty-five years has added thirty-five new states to the original nucleus of thirteen, and at the same time has preserved its original form without serious change, has proved the wisdom of its founders. Alaska, too, was started on her road to statehood by her organization as a territory in 1913.

Forty-eight
states.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

At the beginning of the operation of the Civil Service Reform Act President Arthur applied the new rules to 15,000 positions; President Cleveland extended them to 55,000 more, and President Roosevelt to 87,000 more. Among the offices placed under the rules by Roosevelt were many of those connected with the government service in the Philippines, the United States forestry service, rural free delivery, work of the Panama Canal, together with 15,000 fourth class postmasterships.

Résumé of
the system
of civil ser-
vice reform
up to Presi-
dent Taft.

President Taft showed himself a firm friend of the merit system in the public service by maintaining the system as handed down to him by his predecessors, and extending it to assistant postmasters, post office inspectors, and 30,000 more fourth class postmasters. Friends of the reform seek amendment of the law, that its benefits may be extended to all the higher offices in the government, which are not strictly political in their nature, that is, to such positions as those of the more important postmasters, the United States district attorneys, and the United States marshals. The demand is also made that a system of old age pensions be adopted for those who devote their life to the public service, that dabbling in politics and attempts to influence legislation by office-holders be strictly forbidden, and that the frequent exceptions to the rules, made by order of the President, be stopped.

Extension of
the system
under Taft.

Under President Wilson the system has been maintained, though when a party which has been out of office sixteen years comes into power, the pressure is tremendous for a division of spoils.

The civil
service under
Wilson.

THE PENSION SYSTEM

In Roosevelt's administration not only was the pension service extended by executive order on the eve of the presidential campaign of 1904, but an act of Congress in 1907 awarded a pension to every

Union veteran over sixty-five years of age. This was what is called a service pension, and was paid to every soldier applying for it, even though he stood in no need of aid and had received no wound or hurt while in the service. The pension bill for the year 1909 reached \$165,000,000.

The pension system under Roosevelt.

In 1912 three-fourths of the Northern army of 1861-1865 were dead yet the government in this year devoted \$180,000,000 to the care of the survivors, or \$20,000,000 more than the expense of the British navy in this year and only \$20,000,000 less than the cost of the German army in the same year. Another act of Congress in 1912 raised the rates once more, so that veterans of three years' service at the age of sixty-two were granted \$16 per month, at sixty-six \$19, at seventy \$25, and at seventy-five \$30, and all wounded or disabled in the service \$30 per month. Pensions for veterans of the Confederate army are provided by many of the Southern state governments.

The system under Taft.

CHANGES IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Two of the old Populist demands for changes in the form of the national government were embodied in the Constitution as the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments early in the year 1913. By the one, Congress was given power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states according to population, as the Constitution originally prescribed that all direct taxes should be apportioned, and, as we have seen, Congress availed itself, that same year, of this amendment by laying an income tax. The other provided for popular election of United States Senators, instead of election by the state legislatures as was originally provided by the Constitution. The acceptance of these changes, advocated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the parties representing agrarian and industrial unrest, proved that although a distinct national party had been abandoned by these classes, their strength was asserting itself in the existing parties.

Two constitutional amendments.

During the Taft administration the growing forces of the Insurgent Republicans asserted their power in the national House of Representatives, in alliance with the Democrats, by forcing two important changes in the parliamentary rules of that body. Speaker Cannon, against whom the revolt was chiefly aimed, had exercised, to be sure, only the same powers as had been in the hands of Speaker Reed in the previous decade; but whereas the latter succeeded in holding his party following loyal to his leadership, the former failed. First, the

Changes in the rules of the House of Representatives.





Speaker himself was removed from the all-powerful Committee on Rules, its membership was increased to ten, and the House itself was directed to choose the committee. This committee has the power to report to the House any rule which, when adopted by the House, controls its proceedings; and the Speaker's removal from the committee which he had formerly controlled by his own casting vote, tended to transfer control in legislation to the House itself. Second, the Speaker was deprived of his power to appoint the regular committees of the House, and the House itself resumed this function.

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENTAL PROCEDURE IN THE STATES

The Populists, after their decided defeat in the presidential contest of 1896, accepted the result more gracefully than is usually the wont of worsted parties. Seeing the futility of entering national politics, they entered upon a successful career in the politics of the several states. The initiative and the referendum, to which the Populists had committed themselves in the nineties, aim to secure a larger and more direct participation by the people in the affairs of government. The one is a device whereby a certain percentage of voters, differing in different states, may propose a law and with or without the consent of the state legislature, as the state law on the subject may direct, submit the same to the voters for approval; if approved by the requisite majority the measure becomes a part of the law of the state. By the referendum, a certain stipulated percentage of voters may demand that any bill passed by the state legislature be submitted to the voters of the state, and accepted or rejected as the popular vote may decide.

**Populistic
legislation
in the states.**

In 1896 the Democrats and Populists in control of the legislature of South Dakota passed an amendment to the state constitution authorizing the initiative and referendum, which the people accepted. Utah took the same course the next year, Oregon in 1902, Montana in 1906, Oklahoma in 1907, and eight more states in the next five years. To remove the objection to the system that the people are too busy and too ignorant to pass on intricate problems of legislation, Oregon has adopted a device whereby on all measures submitted to them for approval, the people are "educated" by an official pamphlet of arguments *pro* and *con*. At present sixteen states have the initiative and referendum in some form.

**The spread
of the
initiative
and the
referendum.**

The recall, by which is meant the power to remove a public official from office by popular vote at any time during his term, probably originated in the city charter of Los Angeles, California, in 1903.

Seattle, Washington, adopted it in 1906, and it was made state-wide in Oregon in 1908. To-day hundreds of municipalities

The recall. make use of it, and it is a state provision in at least eight states. Such a weapon in politics lays on the officials a heavy sense of responsibility and holds before them a high standard of efficiency. In order to protect the public servants from persecution at the hands of their enemies, who might try to use the recall many times against certain officials till the recall should finally prove successful, Oregon made a rule that those who call for a second or a third recall election against the same official must pay the expenses of those elections. Arizona tried to come into the Union in 1911 with a provision in her state constitution for the recall of judges. Acting upon a vehement message from President Taft, Congress voted to admit her on the condition that the provision be stricken out. Only by consenting did Arizona become a state; but immediately after statehood, she put the clause back into her constitution. The Progressives in their national platform of 1912 went farther, demanding not only the recall of judges but also the recall of judicial decisions. The more conservative, who believe that the impartiality of judges depends upon their independence of popular clamor, take the position of President Taft that the recall should not touch the bench or its decisions.

B, Along with the movement for the initiative, referendum, and recall, has gone the corresponding demand of the people for greater participation in the management of political parties. The convention system of nomination, in vogue since the days of Andrew Jackson, has fallen more or less into disrepute, and the more democratic system of direct primaries is widely advocated. The convention, it is alleged, can be bought, controlled by a boss, and managed unfairly by the arbitrary control of the presiding officer, in the interests of a single candidate against the interests of other candidates. Experience has proved, too, that, surrounded by thousands of spectators, easily swept into excitement by appealing oratory, the little handful of delegates on the floor of a convention are not placed amid conditions suitable to the sober deliberation and judgment with which the candidate for an important office should be chosen. From these abuses direct primaries are urged as a means of escape. In them the people, by casting ballots, as on election day, are able to make their own nominations without sending delegates of their power to a nominating convention. Wisconsin adopted direct primaries in 1903, Oregon in 1904, Illinois in 1905, and many other states have since followed their example, some for nominations to state offices only, some for presidential nominations as well.

Another movement for a sweeping reform, looking to the greater participation of the people in the affairs of government, gained ground first in the West, just as did the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and the direct primary; this is the movement **Woman suffrage.** for the political enfranchisement of women. Women in the United States already have civil rights; they are generally capable of owning property, entering into contracts, and engaging in gainful occupations, but in most states full political rights are denied them, though many states grant to them the privilege of voting on certain matters, such as proposed bond issues, school matters, and municipal affairs. In the territory of Wyoming in 1869 full enfranchisement was given to women under the same conditions as to men; and when that territory became a state in 1890 the same provision was placed in the state constitution. Colorado took the step in 1893, Idaho and Utah in 1896, and from 1910 to 1914 the reform was adopted by Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, and the territory of Alaska. In Illinois, the entering wedge of the reform east of the Mississippi, women enjoy presidential and municipal suffrage. These twelve states together cast 91 electoral votes out of a total electoral vote of 531. In four eastern states — New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, — the reform passed the legislature, but was rejected by the electorate in 1915.

An amendment to the Constitution of the United States to give suffrage to women the country over received a majority of votes in the United States Senate in 1914 but failed of the requisite two-thirds vote; in January, 1915, a similar amendment, proposed in the House of Representatives, failed of a majority; but the friends of the movement derived encouragement from the close vote, which showed that their cause had made great strides within the last decade.

The question of woman suffrage in the national Congress.

An innovation in the administration of municipal affairs, known as the commission form of government, originated in the West in the first years of the twentieth century and has spread rapidly over all sections, till at the present writing at least four hundred cities and towns have adopted it with modifications. Municipal government has become a subject of increasing importance as population has tended more and more to the large centers. In 1910 thirty-five per cent of the population of the United States lived in cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants.

The spread of the commission form of municipal government.

When Galveston, Texas, was destroyed by a tidal wave in 1900, the voters in desperation intrusted the confused affairs of the stricken city to a commission of five men. Inasmuch as these men were not re-

quired to give their whole time to the city's management, and could still attend to their own private affairs, the commissioners were secured from the best business talent of the city. The experiment was an immediate success, and when the crisis was over, citizens were unwilling to go back to the old régime. Other cities, groaning under the corruption of their municipal administration, seized upon the plan. Details differ in different cities, but the essential principle is the concentration of executive and legislative power and responsibility in the hands of a few men, who are constantly under public scrutiny, each at the head of a branch of city government, such as law, finance, park department, etc. Usually the mayor and the town council are dispensed with.

Des Moines, Iowa, was among the first cities to follow Galveston's experiment, and its special type of commission government has been widely copied. By this plan the initiative, referendum, and recall are adopted along with the commission form of government, and all important franchises awarding to private corporations municipal rights or powers must first be approved directly by the people. Direct primaries are

in vogue for the nomination of officials, and every official represents the entire city instead of a single ward. The five commissioners are required to give all their time to the municipality, but this feature of the Des Moines plan has been subject to criticism on the ground that few cities are able to pay sufficiently high salaries to compensate commissioners for abandoning their private business. In 1908 the city manager plan was evolved to meet this difficulty, and was promptly put into operation in Dayton and Springfield, Ohio. It aims to provide for the management of the city strictly after the manner of an up-to-date business corporation. The commissioners under this plan are not required to devote all their time to the department of the city government over which each presides, but a non-partisan expert is hired to give all his time to the city, to have general control over the executive business of the city, to appoint the subordinate officials, determine salaries, etc. At least seventeen cities now make use of this form of government, which is favored by the National Municipal League.

GENERAL REFERENCES

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SPECIAL TOPICS

1. IMMIGRATION. LATANÉ, *World Power*, 285-303; P. ROBERTS, *Immigration*; A. S. BERNHEIMER, *Russian Jew in the United States*; E. A. STEINER, *Trail of the Immigrant*; H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Immigration*; J. W. JENKS AND W. J. LAUCK, *Immigration Problem*.

2. THE MOVEMENT FOR DIRECT GOVERNMENT. W. E. WEYLE, *New Democracy*; A. STICKNEY, *Organized Democracy*; BEARD AND SHULTZ, *Initiative, Referendum, and Recall*; A. L. LOWELL, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*; G. H. HAYNES, *Election of Senators*; C. E. MERRIAM, *Primary Elections*; T. ROOSEVELT, *The New Nationalism*.

3. THE LABORING CLASSES. H. MAROT, *American Labor Unions*; R. T. ELY, *Labor Movement*; J. R. COMMONS, ED., *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*; J. MITCHELL, *Organized Labor*, and *The Wage Earner and His Problems*; H. W. LAIDLER, *Boycotts and the Labor Struggle*; F. J. WARNE, *Coal Mine Workers*.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

B. T. WASHINGTON, *Up From Slavery*; UPTON SINCLAIR, *The Jungle*; W. A. WHITE, *A Certain Rich Man*; G. E. WOODBERRY, *My Country*; M. ANTIN, *The Promised Land*.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Why has it been easy for immigrants to succeed in the United States? Account for the prosperity of the New South since 1865. Account for the rapid growth of the western cities at the present time. What were the benefits of the large aggregations of capital immediately after the Civil War? At the present time? What are their evils? What are the benefits and evils of labor unions? How do you account for the increase of direct popular government since 1896? Why is prosecution of the big trusts politically popular? Is the tariff as much a leading issue in politics at present as at any time in the history of the country? Why? Why is the policy of conservation of natural resources a historical necessity? Why is it difficult to enforce the civil service law when a new administration comes into power?

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts

of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies.

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.¹

¹ The remaining signatures are omitted.

APPENDIX II

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New-hamshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. THE stile of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

ARTICLE II. EACH State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. THE said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV. THE better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other state of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

IF any Person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall upon demand of the Governor or Executive power, of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V. FOR the more convenient management of the general interest of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first

Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State, to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI. No State without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title or any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation

of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII. WHEN land-forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII. ALL charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX. THE United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article — of sending and receiving ambassadors — entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever — of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated — of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace — appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

THE United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful

agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection or hope of reward:" provided also that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

THE United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States — fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States — regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States,

provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated — establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro' the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office — appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers — appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States — making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

THE United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction — to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses — to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted, — to build and equip a navy — to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

THE United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor

appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

THE Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X. THE committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE XI. CANADA acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII. ALL bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII. EVERY State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union. Know ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: and we do further

solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.¹

¹ The names of the signers are omitted.

APPENDIX III

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION. I.

1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION. 2.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION. 3.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

7. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION. 4.

1. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5.

1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may

be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

3. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7.

1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law,

in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a bill.

SECTION. 8.

The Congress shall have Power

1. To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow Money on the Credit of the United States;

3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

4. To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

10. To define and Punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

13. To provide and maintain a Navy;

14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such

District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9.

1. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

4. No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION. 10.

1. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION. I.

1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.¹

4. The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

¹ This paragraph was superseded by the 12th Article of the Amendments.

6. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: — “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the “United States.”

SECTION. 2.

1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3.

1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4.

1. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION. 1.

1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2.

1. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; — to Controversies between two or more States; — between a State and Citizens of another State; — between Citizens of different States, — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3.

1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

2. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION. I.

1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION. 2.

1. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

3. No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION. 3.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION. 4.

1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress;

Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. *In Witness* whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o WASHINGTON —

*Presidt; and Deputy from Virginia*¹

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

¹ The remaining signatures are omitted.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or in public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.¹

ARTICLE XI.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.²

ARTICLE XII.

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole

¹ The first ten amendments went into effect Nov. 3, 1791.

² In effect Jan. 8, 1798.

number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.¹

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION. I.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION. 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.²

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION. I.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION. 2.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION. 3.

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

¹ In effect Sept. 25, 1804.

² In effect December 18, 1865.

SECTION. 4.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION. 5.

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.¹

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION. 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION. 2.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.²

ARTICLE XVI.

SECTION. 1.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.³

ARTICLE XVII.

SECTION. 1.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

SECTION. 2.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

SECTION. 3.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.⁴

¹ In effect July 28, 1868.

² In effect March 30, 1870.

³ In effect February 25, 1913.

⁴ In effect May 31, 1913.

APPENDIX IV

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WILSON

Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress April 2, 1917

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough

results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government had swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are

incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty — for it will be a very practical duty — of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures

for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one

would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naïve majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples,

the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our right.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us — however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship — exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there

should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

APPENDIX V

BOOK LISTS

A. A selected list of the books referred to in this history. These titles are quoted very briefly in the references at the ends of chapters; those not in this list are there quoted more fully.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, *Charles Francis Adams; Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers; Panama Canal Zone; Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6.30 P.M. — The Birth of a World Power.*

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, AND ADAMS, HENRY, *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays.*

ADAMS, HENRY, *History of the United States.*

ANDREWS, CHARLES MCLEAN, *Colonial Self-Government; Colonial Period.*

AVERY, ELROY MCKENDREE, *History of the United States and Its People.*

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER, *Federalist System; Life of Andrew Jackson.*

BEARD, CHARLES AUSTIN, *American Government and Politics; Contemporary American History.*

BOURNE, EDWARD GAYLORD, *Spain in America; Essays in Historical Criticism.*

BRUCE, H. ADDINGTON, *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road; Romance of American Expansion.*

CHANNING, EDWARD, *History of the United States; Jeffersonian System; Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America.*

CHANNING, EDWARD, AND LANSING, M. F., *Story of the Great Lakes.*

CURTIS, EDWARD S., *North American Indian.*

DEWEY, DAVID RICH, *National Problems.*

DUNBAR, SEYMOUR, *History of Travel in America.*

FARRAND, MAX, *Framing of the Constitution; Records of the Federal Convention.*

FARRAND, MAX, ED., *Journey to Ohio in 1810.*

FISH, CARL RUSSELL, *Civil Service and the Patronage.*

FISHER, SYDNEY GEORGE, *Struggle for American Independence; True Benjamin Franklin; Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times; Making of Pennsylvania.*

FISKE, JOHN, *American Revolution; Beginnings of New England; Critical Period of American History; Discovery of America; Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America; Mississippi Valley in the Civil War; New France and New England; Old Virginia and Her Neighbors.*

FITE, EMERSON DAVID, *Presidential Campaign of 1860; Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War.*

FOSTER, JOHN W., *American Diplomacy in the Orient; Century of American Diplomacy.*

- GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD, *Trails of the Pathfinders.*
- HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL, *Abolition and Slavery; Salmon Portland Chase.*
- HILL, FREDERICK TREVOR, *Decisive Battles of the Law.*
- HULBERT, ARCHER B., *Historic Highways of America.*
- JOHNSON, ALLEN, *Stephen Arnold Douglas.*
- LATANÉ, JOHN H., *United States as a World Power.*
- LECKY, WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE, *American Revolution.*
- LODGE, HENRY CABOT, *Daniel Webster; George Washington.*
- MACDONALD, WILLIAM, *Select Documents, 1776-1861.*
- MCMASTER, JOHN BACH, *History of the People of the United States.*
- MORSE, JOHN T., *Abraham Lincoln; Benjamin Franklin; Thomas Jefferson; John Quincy Adams.*
- NICOLAY, JOHN C., AND HAY, JOHN, *Abraham Lincoln.*
- OGG, FREDERICK AUSTIN, *Opening of the Mississippi.*
- OSGOOD, HERBERT L., *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.*
- PARKMAN, FRANCIS, *Conspiracy of Pontiac; Frontenac and France; Half Century of Conflict; Jesuits; Montcalm and Wolfe; Old Regime in Canada; Oregon Trail; Pioneers of France in the New World.*
- PAXSON, FREDERICK LOGAN, *Civil War; Independence of the South American Republics; Last American Frontier.*
- PRESCOTT, WILLIAM H., *Conquest of Mexico; Conquest of Peru.*
- RHODES, JAMES FORD, *History of the United States.*
- ROOSEVELT, THEODORE, *New Nationalism; Thomas Hart Benton; Winning of the West.*
- ROYCE, JOSIAH, *California.*
- SCHURZ, CARL, *Henry Clay.*
- SPARKS, EDWIN EARLE, *Expansion of the American People.*
- SPARKS, EDWIN EARLE, ED., *English Settlement in the Illinois.*
- SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Andrew Jackson.*
- THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, *Daniel Boone; France in America; Father Marquette; How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest.*
- THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, ED., *Journals of Lewis and Clark.*
- TREVELYAN, SIR GEORGE OTTO, *American Revolution.*
- TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON, *New West; Western State Making.*
- TYLER, MOSES COIT, *Literary History of the American Revolution.*
- VAN TYNE, CLAUDE HALSTEAD, *American Revolution; Loyalists in the American Revolution.*
- VILLARD, OSWALD GARRISON, *John Brown.*
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, *Westward Movement.*
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, ED., *Narrative and Critical History of America.*

B. Numerous references have been made to the following collections of sources. The titles are quoted very briefly in the references at the ends of chapters.

American History Leaflets, Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing.

American History Told by Contemporaries, Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart.

Great Epochs in American History, Edited by Francis W. Halsey.

Jesuit Relations, Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

Old South Leaflets.

Original Narratives of Early American History.

Select Orations Illustrating American Political History, Edited by Samuel Bannister Harding.

Source Book of American History, Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart.

Trail Maker Series.

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